A

TONGVE-COMBAT,

LATELY HAPPENING BE-tvveene tvvo English *Souldiers* in the Tilt-boat *of Grauesend*,

THE ONE GOING TO SERVE the King of Spaine, the other to ſerue the *States Generall of the Vnited Prouinces.*

Wherein the Cauſe, Courſe, and Continuance of thoſe Warres, is debated, and declared.

Pro Aris & Focis.

Printed at London. 1623.

To the
HONORABLE
Sir George Holles *Knight*, Sericant
Major to Generall VERE.

HONORABLE SIR:

MEeting with a little Pamphlet written by way of Dialogue, and intituled *A Tongue-combate*, profeſsing to containe a true Diſcourſe of theſe Warres in the *Netherlands* betwixt the King of *Spaine* and the *States Generall*, I could not, without injurie to Truth, permit ſo many falſhoods (as vnder colour of ſinceritie and modeſty, were wrapt vp in thoſe waſte-papers, to bee vented for rich commodities vpon our Coaſt, greedie of nouelties) to paſſe without queſtion or contradiction. The euer-liuing honour of my late Soueraigne deceaſed, vnder whoſe bleſſed Gouernment I was borne, therein traduced: The juſtice and prudencie of my dread Soueraigne now raigning, therein obliquely and apertly aymed at: The truth of the Reformed Religion, wherin I was educated, therein oppugned: The loyaltie and reputation of this Nation whom I ſerue, and for whoſe juſt cauſe I fight, therein defamed; prouoked me to ſay what I could, and what I knew, in defence of all. And I am fitted and furniſhed the better to ſay ſomething to purpoſe in this point, both by the many yeeres experience I haue had in the Seruice, as alſo through the manifold diſcourſes I haue often heard, wherein this buſineſſe haue beene diuerſly debated; but eſpecially by the many bookes I haue read and tranſlated touching this Subject, for the ſatisfaction of my ſelfe and ſome honorable friends, who are knowne to be too religious, to enter into courſes doubtfull or queſtionable; at leaſt into warres openly wicked and vnwarrantable. Now being thus fully and clearely reſolued in mine owne conſcience, I could

not but indeuour to resolue others, who might bee doubtfull, and so seeke satisfaction. It is my duty (I take it) to doe thus; for my meanes I receiue of the *States* obligeth my tongue, hand, heart, and whole man, to promote their just cause in wordes, writings, actions, prayers. He is a traytor (as I iudge) to these, to the truth, to his owne, and to himselfe, that doeth not thus thinke, speake, write, and doe, hauing the same ingagements, where occasion is presented. It concernes all Sword-men to sticke to mee, and to vindicate the honour of our deceased Queene, or present Soueraigne, Religion, the Brittish Nation in generall, and our Worthies in particular, who are made, by this blind and bold bayard, abettors of Rebels and Traytours; whereby theirs and our honours are stayned, our Armes defaced, and the memorable workes of Warre which wee haue wrought for these fiftie yeeres continuance, cast away in obscuritie and contempt; nay, condemned as ignoble crimes of ingratitude and injustice. Assuredly, he that will not exchange a word with an enemie in this case, for this *State* and the *Truth*, which they and we professe in common, is not to bee trusted in actuall disputations, where blowes and bullets are exchanged, and questions of life and death are agitated and controuerted.

If any man thinke my style too sharpe, they must consider I am a Souldier, trayned vp from my youth, to haue my sword also as sharpe in this quarrell: besides, I am exceedingly prouoked by a craftie Aduersarie, who vsing mildnesse and modestie to *Tawny-scarfe* his owne fained creature, his Puppet, his Propertie, ouer whom hee insults, as vpon a vaulting-horse lowe enough for his leape, is yet most bitter against the *States Generall*, and their instruments, who intertaine and employ the true *Tawny scarfes*, that will not be so easily baffeled. These he cals Rebels; and for this I often oppose him with the tearmes of Tyrannie and Oppression: The successe and Gods blessing vpon these Warres, hauing giuen him the lye, and sealed mee a publique warrant to say more in this case, with authoritie and euidence of truth.

This I dedicate to you, who haue beene a noble instrument in these just Warres for many yeeres past, and will (I doubt not) deigne to protect my Pen, which doth but repeate that which

your

your hands hath written with bloud, and carued in large characters vpon the wounded bodies of diuers braue & bold Opposites. It is now a time or neuer to declare our selues, and stand together for the truth of Religion herein oppugned: which hee that shrinkes from, for any worldly or politicke respect, or any Antichristian ayme, and temporarie temptation, shall surely be denyed hereafter of Christ Iesus, who will publiquely professe *to be ashamed of them before God, vvho are ashamed of him here before men*; and to spue those luke warme persons out of his mouth, whom the sudden and vnexpected alarum of bold, daring, and desperate opposition for Falshood, will not awaken from that stupide Lethargie, or reserued Foxe-sleepe of Policie, wherein they lye bed-rid, to be *as couragious for Truth, as other men are for lyes*, in this Age of Atheisme.

The Lord by his Spirit kindle this zeale in our hearts for his Cause, and honour the militarie Profession so farre, that as *Phineas* the *Priest*, hath heretofore taken his Pike, and led vs by example, to execute vengeance on Gods foes that would corrupt others; so *vvee* may now leade *Phineas* against that *Babylonish Strumpet* and her Brood, who *commits fornication vvith the greatest Princes of the earth*, and would impudently presse into our Tents, to doe, and cause the like villanie to be openly and vniuersally committed by vs and all men. Leade you (Sir) like *Iosuah*, in the head of the Troupes against this *VVhore* and her Adherents, and I will follow you as a faithfull

Seruant to Truth and to you,

HENRY HEXAM.

To the right VVorshipfull *Sir Edvvard* PARHAM Knight, Serjeant Major of the Regiment *of the right Honorable the Lord* VAVX, *in the Seruice of the King of* SPAINE *in the* Netherlands.

IN my late paſſage downe from *London* to *Graueſend* by *Tilt-boate*, there chanced among others, two Gentlemen at that preſent alſo to paſſe, being both of military profeſſion, but indifferently diſpoſed in their determinations, touching the Sides they went to ſerue on: for after ſome courſe of ſpeech that paſſed among the companie, the one diſcouered his intention to goe ouer into the *Netherlands* to ſerue the King of *Spaine*, and the other manifeſted his purpoſe to goe ſerue the *States of Holland*: but becauſe each of them ſeemed fortified vvith reaſon for his determination, and to thinke himſelfe aſwell able to defend it, as hee ſeemed willing to follow it, all the company, out of a curioſitie, were very deſirous to heare what by either ſide could bee ſayd; but yet with a prouiſo, that no inconueniencie or falling out betweene them vpon it might enſue; and therfore they deſired them, that before they began ſeriouſly to argue the matter, they should paſſe their words to each other vpon their honours, that without injuring one another in particular, each might haue his free ſpeech in defence of his owne determined courſe; and that their arguing being ended, there should no exceptions be taken either by them, or any of the companie,

for

for ought that had beene ſpoken; but that both they, and all the reſt of the companie, (their diſcourſe beeing ended) ſhould in ciuill and courteous manner carrie themſelues, and ſo take their leaues of each other, when their wayes lay to be ſeparated. To this all agreed, and theſe twaine gaue each other their hand vpon the conditions: and thereupon began betweene them a *Tongue-combate*, wherein neither of both were ſlaine or maimed: and becauſe it may be ſome recreation vnto you, to vnderſtand how the matter paſſed, I thought good now at my ſooneſt leyſure, and aſwell as my memorie would permit me, to pen it downe, and to preſent it to your view, to whom I hold my beſt indeuours obliged. And this kiſſing your hands, I take my leaue, wishing vnto you the atchieuing of all honour, anſwerable vnto your noble valour and courage.

The deuoted honorer of your Vertues,

D. N.

Tavvnie-ſcarfe to Red-ſcarfe.

I *Lately met with that Conference which I had with you in the* Tilt-boat, *printed; wherein I found my ſelfe much injured, in the Anſwere you put out in my name; and that which you ſay much mended, and deliuered to the beſt aduantage. I found alſo a Dedication fixed to the Front of your Pamphlet, as if you meant to make your beſt friend sharer of the honour you atchieued by the ſuppoſed victorie ouer mee. In all which regard, I could not but take notice of your falshood; eſpecially*

Many because I ſaw you did not onely Wrong mee, by concealing What I ſaid, and affirming What I never ſayd, but labourd alſo to Wrong the cauſe, through the Weakneſſe of my perſon. Leſt therefore any of my Countrimen ſhould bee Wonne by your cunning, to thinke better of your Cauſe, and worſe of ours, then they Would, and reaſon requires; and ſo bee eaſily Wooed to leane vs, to ſeeke and finde repentance with you, I haue incerted What I ſayd, or might haue ſayd to your emptie allegations; and likewiſe haue dedicated my indeuours to a Worthy Commander; Who is not (as yours commonly are) a Souldier Swallow-like for a Summer onely, or a ſiege, but Whoſe very name is famous thorow your Armie, and his perſon knowne to all of yours, that for almoſt theſe thirtie yeeres paſt haue ſeene an English Enemie in the Field or Trenches: In either of Which place if you dare meet me, I Will make good vpon your perſon With Sword and Piſtoll, What here I ſubſcribe With my Pen, that you haue Wronged me, the truth, and your ſelfe, if you had any honour to loſe by lying.

RED-SCARFE,

RED-SCARFE, *or the* Author *of the* Tongue-Combat *to the Reader.*

BEcause *the ensuing* Discourse *is Dialogue-wise, and that some note of distinction must of necessitie be vsed, seeing I know not these Gentlemens names, who interchanged this Conference insuing, I haue thought good to note them by their Scarfes; as by calling him that was to goe to serue the King of* Spaine *by the name of* Red-Scarfe, *according to the colour of the Scarfe he wore; and to call the other by the name of* Tawney-Scarfe, *because hee wore a Scarfe of the colour of Orange-tawney.*

The company after the conditions of quietnesse at parting were agreed vpon, became all silent to heare them begin. The first then (being Tawney-scarfe) *began in such words, as you shall finde inserted after this following Preface.*

Tavvny-Scarfe, *or the Answverer of the* Toung-Combat *to the Reader.*

IMpartiall Reader, I am to let thee vnderstand by way of Preface, that there was no other conference in the Tilt-boate, then vvhat the Authour of the *Tongue-Combate* himselfe gaue life to, by propounding Arguments, and stirring opposition, howsoeuer now hee would hide himselfe behinde a third person, as if he only were the Relater or Repeater, not the first broacher of this *Word-warre*; but I assure thee the contrarie, vpon

the faith of a Souldier. As for that which hee ſaith concerning the names of the Diſputants, that he knew them not, and therefore was forced to call one *Red-ſcarfe*, the other *Tawny-ſcarfe*, according to the colour of their Scarfes, muſt thus be vnderſtood; that indeed he knew not my name, and for his owne, being a man of many names, he knew not which to aſſume for that inſtant, but that ſome of the companie might haue knowne him by another, worne in ſome other place, and therefore he did wiſely dye himſelfe into red; which being in graine, will without blushing warrant any falshood, and outface any truth. This I let thee know alſo, that hee began the Combate, though he giues mee the honour to charge; and that hee retired ſomewhat confuſedly in the end, though he ſaith (falſely) that I ran away. This ſhall be ſufficient for a touch, and to giue thee warning of the reſt, how warily thou art to beleeue him.

Tawny-ſcarfe.

It ſeemeth ſtrange vnto me, that any of our Countrimen ſhould rather reſolue to ſerue the King of *Spaine*, then the *States of Holland*, conſidering how long their Cauſe and Quarrell had beene by *Engliſhmen* ſupported, and the number of our Countrimen that continue to ſerue on that *Side*.

Red ſcarfe.

It ſeemeth as ſtrange vnto me, that men of ſenſe and vnderſtanding ſhould not rather regard the iuſtneſſe of the Cauſe and Quarrell which they are to defend, (eſpecially when they are not conſtrained, but that their reſolution lyeth in their owne choyce) then to let themſelues be blind-folded and led forward by ſiniſter ſuggeſtion, to follow the vn-underſtanding vulgar Multitude

for

for companie or cuſtome ſake, becauſe they haue continued ſo long a time to ſerue on that *Side*, without knowing or caring wherein right or wrong conſiſteth.

Tawny-ſcarfe.

What care had thoſe, I pray you, of your Religion, to examine the iuſtneſſe of the Cauſe in the warre of *Ireland*, when they aſſiſted the King of *Spayne* againſt their owne Queene and Country? Or thoſe of *France* in the holy League againſt their King? were thoſe men *without ſenſe or vnderſtanding* or no? and what care haue you all, in matters of greater moment, euen ſuch as concerne the ſaluation of your ſoules, to informe your vnderſtandings in the truth? Are ye not blindly led on by your forefathers examples, and by the multitudes of men, who vvalke your broad vvay leading to perdition? How then can you blame vs, if in matters of leſſe conſequence, vve ſhould by your authorities bee remiſſe? Of all others it ſorts not you to reprooue vs. Yet you muſt not thinke, that the firſt reſolution taken for the aſſiſtance of the *Hollanders*, vvas vvithout good conſideration of the *iuſtneſſe of their cauſe*; and the ſame beeing once begun and continued, what needed further doubt or ſcruple be made thereof by the after-followers of it?

Red-ſcarfe.

Becauſe it is no Article of faith, to beleeue that the firſt reſolution taken in *England* for the aſſiſting of the *Hollanders*, was not vvithout *good conſideration of the iuſtneſſe of their cauſe*, diuers haue ſince penetrated into it, to ſee vvhether it vvere ſo or not, but could not ſo finde it, and therefore thoſe you ſpeake of, that haue followed it without ſcruple, haue beene people that were not ſcrupulous at all: for there is no cauſe be it neuer ſo bad, but

ſome will be found, without any ſcruple, willing to follow it.

Tawny-ſcarfe.

Had it beene warranted vvith a *Bull* from *Rome*, as the Irish vvarre vvas, then you durſt not haue vnſealed that ſecret to examine the *iuſtneſſe* of it, but vvould haue beleeued it as an article of faith, (for the articles of your faith are in your Popes boſome) and perhaps obayed it too, before the Commandements of God. But now you pretend to haue penetrated the bottome, to cenſure ſuch as are contrary minded, and to find fault with the ground of a Councell, which you vnderſtand not.

Red-ſcarfe.

If the Cauſe of the *Hollanders* by any vndiſprooueable reaſons of yours, ſhall appeare vnto me to be iuſt, I ſhall not onely be ſorry for mine error, in not apprehending it ſo to be, but reſolue to goe along with your ſelfe into their ſeruice.

Tawny-ſcarfe.

As for your company, aſſure your ſelfe I ſeeke it not: vve haue too many already that vve cannot truſt. And for perſwading you to ſee and be ſorrie for your error, it is in vaine for me to hope to worke ſuch a miracle. I know right well, the bright Sunne makes Moles the more blinde; and ſuch as you, who (I feare) haue ſeared and peruerted conſciences, wil ſooner beleeue lyes then truth: ſo that all the euidence I ſhall bring to cleare this point, vvill but make you the more obſtinate and vvilfull; and I might hope to draw you farther with a fained Legend, then vvith lines drawne from the Booke of life it ſelfe. Yet ſince you deſire to trie your ſtrength, (for I know you are armed and ſtudied to oppoſe) I pro-

duce

duce three reaſons, inducing Queene *Elizabeth* of happy Memorie, to aſſiſt the *States Generall* in theſe warres againſt the King of *Spayne*.

1 The firſt, vvas the oppreſſion and vvrong done them by the King of *Spayne*, both in violating their auncient and laudable Lawes, Priuiledges, and Liberties, (euen ſuch as vvere fundamentall, vpon vvhich the State ſtood as vpon a baſe) as alſo in tyrannizing ouer their conſciences by a moſt bloody and barbarous Inquiſition.

2 The ſecond reaſon was, becauſe they vvere our old ſure friends, and had bin ſo, before they had Earles, much more before the *Spaniſh* Title in thoſe Parts; and vve deſired ſtill to keepe them our neere neighbours, rather then to change them for new friends, more remote both in affection and manners, vvhoſe propinquity vve deſired not, beholding it dangerous to *Portugall*, *Naples*, and all other Nations, as ayming at an *vniuerſall Monarchy*. Eſpecially Queene *Elizabeth* ſaw the perill, ſo great a neighbour might bring to Her and her State, vvhen ſhee and her Kingdomes onely lay as a blocke in the vvay, to breake the necke of His intended Greatneſſe.

3 The third motiue and the greateſt, which outwent matter of State, vvas the maintenance of the Goſpel, and peaceable ſtate of the true reformed Church, which began there to inlarge it ſelfe; and whereof as ſhee vvas ſtyled, ſo ſhee intended to prooue her ſelfe (and performed what ſhe intended) *A true Defendreſſe of the Faith.*

Red ſcarfe.

You haue here alledged ſundry reaſons to haue cauſed

sed Queene *Elizabeth* to take the *Hollanders* parts, it is reason then, that if so be I cannot allow them for sufficient reasons, I prooue them not so to bee, vvhich by your patience and permission I shall be able to doe.

The first point is about their being oppressed and vvronged by the King of *Spayne*, and in danger to bee brought vnder the seueritie of a *Spanish Inquisition*.

That these people liued in obedience of King *Philip* the second of *Spayne*, as did all other the inhabitants of the seuenteene *Netherland Prouinces*, acknowledging him as their true and lawfull Soueraigne Lord, as they had acknowledged his Ancestors before him, from vvhom hee successiuely inherited those Countries, no man can make any doubt or question. The question then is, whether this King, when hee came to the possession of those Countries, did impose vpon the people any pressures, more then his former Ancestors had done; but who is able to shew that he did? the said King beeing then in as full and quiet possession of all those Countries, as euer any of his Ancestors had beene; and departing from thence into *Spaine* in the yeere *1559*. hee left none of his Netherland subiects, for any cause of innouation, in any thing any whit disgusted, but in as great tranquilitie as euer they had beene. He left behind him in those Countries no Spanish Gouernours nor souldiers, but gaue the particular Gouernments to the Nobilitie of the Country it selfe, and the generall Gouernement of them all, vnto his naturall sister the Ducheſſe of *Parma*, beeing of the same Countrey borne: vvhat wrong in any respect was here done them; vvho complained of any wrong? why was not the good peace and reciprocall loue betwixt this King and his Netherland

land ſubiects continued? who began the breach? what actions of innouation cauſed it? proceeded it from this Prince, or from the Netherland people?

When no thought or cogitation was in this Kings minde of any breach betweene him and his ſubiects, in the yeere of our Lord 1566. certaine of the raſcalitie beeing ſuggeſted by ſedicious Preachers, and thoſe Preachers ſet on by ſome of the Nobilitie, little better then bankrupt, they began in moſt rebellious rage, to fall to the robbing and ſpoyling of Churches. The Ducheſſe of *Parma* being at *Bruxels* vvhen the newes of this outragious and generall ſacrilegious theft vvas brought vnto her, was much amazed thereat, and demanded of the Earle of *Barlamont*, (who then was preſent) what they vvere that had done this, vvhereunto hee anſwered her in French, *Ceſte ſont que de Geus*, vvhich as much to ſay, *they are but Rogues or Raſcals*. The Church-robbers, and thoſe that ſet them on worke, vvhereof ſome vvere Gentlemen, (though much vnworthy of that title) hauing gotten notice how the name of *Geus* was giuen them, did foorthwith accept of the name, and wore in ſtead of brooches on their hats, little woodden dishes, to betoken beggars dishes; and ſome of that ſort did afterwards weare Foxe tailes in their Hats in ſtead of feathers; ſo as it ſeemeth they tooke a glorie in this worthy name: for they alſo cauſed a print or ſtampe of a Cocke to be made, at whoſe mouth the words *Viue les Geus par tout le monde* were ſet downe, vvhich is as much to ſay, *Liue, or flourish may the Rogues ouer all the World*: and the paper-prints or pictures taken from this ſtamp, were ſet vp in all houſes, taphouſes, and tauernes where they frequented: herehence it commeth, that in all the Low-

Low-countries, this kinde of people doe vnto this day, beare the name of *Geuses*, howbeit they haue since beene taught to call themselues *the Reformed*, but Protestants they neither doe, nor euer did call themselues.

Here haue you the originall and beginning of the breach betweene the King of *Spaine*, and these his Netherland subiects; and as touching their beeing oppressed and wronged by the King of *Spayne*, and in danger to be brought vnder the seueritie of the *Spanish Inquisition*, the blame that the King of *Spaine* herein deserueth is, that he was so much ouer-shot, that when hee heard of their breaking downe of Altars and Images in Churches, of their robbing and carying thence of siluer Chalices, Paternes, Cructs, Candlestickes, Lampes, and Reliquaries, with the Tapestrie, and whatsoeuer they might make money of, euen to the very Bels in the Steeples, he had not commended it to be wel done, and sent them rewards for their so doing, and so haue let them runne on euen to the taking of the Crucifixe out of the Church, and hanging it on the Gallowes, as they did at *Gorcum* in *Holland*; an act, that albeit the Diuell, Iewes, and Geuses would take pleasure in, yet would very Turkes, and Mahometans bee scandalized to behold it.

Now because the King of *Spayne* had sworne at his being in the Netherlands, to defend the Church and Ecclesiasticall persons in their auncient and Christian Priuiledges, and that he apprehended Church-robberie to be theft, he so much wronged these people, as to send the Duke of *Alua* to punish this theft, which (as I take it) was as little wrong, as to hang a Minister for stealing of a booke of Martyrs out of a Parish Church in *London*.

Tawny-

Tawny-scarfe.

You haue here said something to no purpose: yet first to answere your falshoods, and then to adde that vvhich is true. Your speech consists of two parts: in the one you labour to cleare the King of *Spaine* from all oppression; in the other, you seeke to cast all the fault vpon the people, and especially vpon those of the *Reformed Religion*, vvhom by the vvay, as farre as your skill will serue you, you spot vvith three or foure crimes, which I dare say, you count proper to the cause.

First, I vvillingly grant the quiet possession of *Philip* the second King of *Spaine* in those Prouinces, and the generall obedience vvhich the people yeelded to him, during the time of his stay amongst them, all which augments his obligation of loue. But whereas you lay the cause of these ensuing warres, to the rascall multitude, seditious Preachers, and bankrupt Nobilitie (as you style them) you shall finde your owne glorious and Catholique Companie to be these Rascals, your owne Popish Clergie to be the seditious Priests, your owne bloudie Nobilitie, to be these bankrupts of true Bloud and Nobilitie. For the reprochfull name of *Geus* cast vpon them, vvhich you interpret *Rascall*, they wore it, and the ensignes and badges of it, as an honour, to let the world see, the King of *Spaine* and his Councell, especially the Clergie, accounted no better of them, then of Rogues or beggars, and intended with the vtmost speed to make them such, vvhich also they expresse by the woodden dish.

As for the Foxe taile, vvhich you say, they wore in their Caps, it was perhaps to put you in minde, that neither they nor their Preachers were such Votaries as your

chaſte Friar *Cornelius Adrianſon* of *Bruges*; vvho being a moſt zealous perſecuter of the *Geuſes*, and very deuoute and obedient to the Church of *Rome* and the Catholike King, inuented an Order of humilitie and innocencie, and vſed to vvhip the penitent female ſoules, that hee confeſt, with a Foxe-tayle ſtarke naked, telling them it became *Innocencie to bee ſeene ſo.* This muſt needes bee a ſore and ſeuere kinde of Penance both to them and to him; yet not ſo abſurd and abhord, as that Sodomiticall practiſe of the Friars of *Gant* and *Bruges*; for which much about that time, many were burnt, and many were vvhipt, by the ſentence of the Court of *Flanders*, beeing all men of their owne Religion.

For the hanging vp of a Crucifixe vpon the Gallowes at *Gortum*, vvherewith you charge the people, I muſt confeſſe I allow not of the fact; nay rather I condemne it as an idle and ſcandalous action, neither can I ſuppoſe it true; yet admit it were ſo, then doubtleſſe either it was done by ſome irreligious perſons, who mixed thēſelues vvith the multitude of rash Reformers; or if by ſome others, out of blinde deuotion and indiſcreet zeale, they might defend themſelues with theſe reaſons, which you can hardly refute.

1 Firſt, you paint Chriſt hanged on a Croſſe, vvho ſits in glory at the right hand of God the Father: for this they hang vp your forgerie; and doe no more indeed in the open ayre, then what you did before by the penſill, vnder the roofe of your owne houſes, or in the Church.

2 Secondly, your Maſſe prieſts euery day crucifie againe the Lord of life, at leaſt they make ſuch as you beleeue they doe ſo, vvhilſt they offer vp his bodie to

God

God the Father for ſinne, as once hee did for all on the Croſſe himſelfe. But theſe onely did execute the picture, vvhilſt your Clergie, like *Caiaphas*, *Annas*, *Herod*, *Pilate*, and *Iudas*, betray, accuſe, and condemne him euery day in perſon, as they ſay, if *hoc eſt corpus meum*, with a croſſe or two added, haue power to change a Cake into Chriſts bodie.

3 Thirdly, that Idol rob'd God of his glorie, and Chriſt of his worship; vvhilſt, either it had all or part of that reſpect, vvhich was due to the perſon. If then a man for meere neceſſitie ſtealing a Surplice, Chalice, Image, or the like, out of your idolatrous Temples, bee vvorthy of hanging, though he bee the image of God, what, is not your Idol worthy to bee hanged, who robs God of his glorie, & your ſoules of true felicitie? Chriſt himſelfe whipt theeues out of the Church, and ſhall that theefe be left there? It is your blinde deuotion to preferre that Idol, before the true, liuely, and liuing Image of Chriſt, vvhom you daily hang vp for this Idols ſake: and ſo, whilſt you thinke to doe God good ſeruice, doe ſeruice to the Diuell, making *your owne ſonnes and daughters paſſe thorow the fire to Molech.*

As for the Miniſter which you bring in by way of inſtance, who ſhould ſteale (as you ſay) a *Booke of Martyrs* out of a Pariſh Church in *London:* if there were any ſuch man, he was worthy to be hang'd; but ſuppoſe hee had ſtolen your god amighty in the ſiluer Boxe, (as hee vvas very like to doe it, had it ſtood in his way) what a pitifull caſe had you beene in, whilſt you muſt haue purſued him as *Laban* did *Iacob*, ſaying, *Why haue you ſtolne away my god?* Gen. 31. 30.

And this for anſwer to your naked and emptie allega-

tions, which must bee credited vpon your bare word. But whereas you cry out, or rather crow like a Cocke on a dunghill, demanding vvhat wrong in any respect was done the people? *Who complained of any Wrong? Why Was not the good peace and reciprocall loue betweene this King and his Netherland subiects continued? Who began the breach? What actions of innouation caused it? proceeded it from this Prince, or from the Netherland people?* I will briefly as I may, satisfie all your demands, shewing first the true and naturall constitution of that mixed Gouernement *ab initio*, and then proceeding to manifest what new pressures, contrary to the fundamentall Lawes of the State, and what daily incroachments, stolne vpon the peoples Liberties by policie, prouoked this warre, and produced the dire effects following; as a mirrour to warne all Magistrates to beware of tyrannie, and to bee content with their owne in manly moderation, lest *Lucifer*-like, seeking to become gods, they prooue diuellish Tyrants, and so lose their first angelicall seates of Soueraigntie.

But because it is impossible in so narrow a Discourse as vve intend, to speake of all particulars, and to deliuer seuerally, vvhat euery Prouince, and euery City in euery Prouince, holds apart from others, as proper onely to themselues, I vvill onely shew you a few of those *Principles* (rather then *Priuiledges*) of State, vvhich these Nations haue preserued intire in generall, notwithstanding the many powerfull hands they haue in that time past thorow; when, euen the most noble and generous Nations, vvho boast and glorie of *vniuersall Monarchies*, haue indured in lesse time many violent changes, and a totall and finall losse of their Liberties.

The

The *Batauians*(for that is the moſt generall name proper to this people) were originally of the *Cattens*, now called *Heſſens*; they firſt poſſeſt the Land which they now hold, without iniurie to any other Nation or perſon, finding it not inhabited by reaſon of many wants and inconueniences, vvhich their inuincible induſtries haue ſince ouercome; and much of it alſo not habitable, in regard of ſundry difficulties vvhich their admirable inuentions haue ſince remooued, or conuerted into profitable helpes and neceſſarie commodities. Thus originally they are free vvithout forraine tenure for the place, or complaint of any perſon for elbow-roome or intruſion. Their Gouernement alſo was as free as gouernement could poſſibly be: they choſe their Gouernours themſelues, vvere he one or more, King, Generall, or Earle; and euer had reſpect that their Liberties and welfares ſhould not reſt in the boſome or diſpoſition of one man onely; but ſo wiſely and warily prouided, that were he wiſe or foolish, vertuous or vvicked, valiant or cowardly, true or falſe that ruled for the time, he might profit them, but ſhould haue no power to ruine them himſelfe, or betray them to be ruined by the Tyrannie of others.

For this end alſo they choſe a certaine mixed number of the Nobles and Commons to ſit in Councell, whom they called *States Generall*; and in theſe conſiſted a great part of the Soueraignetie; at leaſt power to qualifie the ouer-ſwelling torrent of Tyrannie in the Superiour, and to repreſſe and ſtay the headſtrong and diſobedient fury of the inferiour, and to ſtand in the midſt as a Moderator betwixt Prince and people, *as our Parliaments in England vſe to do*.

In these *States vnited*, together with their Prince, (whatsoeuer title he bore) was the Soueraigne Power included; yet so, as they had reference in all great affaires to the people also; vvho were not shut out, (like beastes by Butchers against the day of slaughter) but called to counsell, if the businesse concerned them, and the generall vvelfare. And to say truth, many of the *States* were of these Commons, who therefore would carefully looke to preserue the common libertie.

With this Councell of the *States* all great affaires past; vvithout it, nothing of moment. And, that you may apprehend this cleare truth the better, I will produce some of the Articles containing their freedomes, which their Princes vsed to confirme by oath in the presence of the *States*, before they or the people would acknowledge them for Princes, that is, Iudges and Executors of the Lawe.

The Customes and Lavves fundamentall of the Netherland Provinces.

THat no Countesse should marry vnto any man, but with consent and good liking of the State.

That the Offices, as of the Councell, and Rent-masters, and Pretorships, should be conferred vpon no other, but vpon those that were borne within the Land.

That the States *shall haue libertie to assemble vpon the affaires of the State; and that as often as shall please them, without need to haue consent of the Earle for that end.*

That no Tolles might be raised or imposed, neither any man freed from those that were formerly ordeined, but by consent of the States.

That

That the Princes should vse the Dutch Language in all their Writings.

That the Coyne should be altered and appointed by the Prince, according as the States *should finde it conuenient.*

That the Prince might not make away any part of his Principalitie.

That the States *may not bee warned to assemble vpon any Conuocation out of the Prouinces.*

That whenas the Prince should haue need of any Impositions, Collections, or Contributions, that hee himselfe personally, and not by mediation of his Lieutenant, shall make intercession vnto the States, *without exacting any thing, otherwise then by a willing and free consent.*

That he exercise and administer Law and Iustice by the hand of the ordinary Iustices.

That the ancient Lawes and Customes being sacred, shouldbe inuiolably obserued; and if the Prince should ordaine any thing contrary thereunto, that no man is bound to obserue the same.

These Lawes hauing bin long maintained by meere Custome, were afterwards registred into Articles, and subsigned by the Princes from time to time; to this end, that the natures of the same Princes might not be infected by the euill incitations of flattering Courtiers, vnto the hope of vnlawfull domination. And at last, in regard that the *States* made complaint of their Grieuances, that the most of the fundamentall points of the ancient Gouernement, by innouations were ouerthrowne, euen then was there a collection made of all the aforesaid Lawes; and so by some others, but chiefly by *Mary* Ducheſſe of *Burgondy*, they were sealed vp, for an euerlasting memorie.

This

This was the ſtate of theſe Prouinces, when they came into the hands of *Charles* the fift, who beeing a mighty Prince, (too bigge for the quiet or benefite of thoſe Countries) ſought by policie and power to melt and caſt them into a new forme of Gouernement, and to vnite the *ſeuenteene Prouinces* in one ſolide body, making thereof a Kingdome, and himſelfe abſolute King of that Kingdome. But, beeing hindred by ſtrong oppoſition at home, and ſtronger ingagements abroad, he was forced to leaue that worke imperfect, to bee made vp by the art and induſtrie of his ſonne *Philip* the ſecond. He onely had left the rough draught, and firſt patterne of that Monarchie, which the times ſucceeding ſhould polish and make perfect: to which end hee reſigned the *Netherlands* to his ſonne *Philip* the ſecond, very early, to giue him time, and the aduantage of actiue and fortunate youth, to enter vpon this worke, and to finish it. All which was done (the Kings ſecret intent onely reſerued to himſelfe and his Chamber-councell) with the conſent of the *States Generall*, who gaue him the Oath, which they adminiſter to all their Princes, to obſerue the Cuſtomes of the *Prouinces*, and preſerue their Liberties intire.

(a) Ignorance makes deſperate onſets both in peace and warre: And youth is naturally ignorant: ſo neither the King by reaſon of his youth, nor the Spanish Councell, who altogether gouerned the King, could tell how to manage this people, being vnacquainted with their natures. And there is as great difference betwixt the Gouernement of Spaine and the Netherlands, as betwixt England and Scotland. Great reaſon they ſhould therefore be gouerned by Natiues that knew them, not by ſtrangers, that did not loue them, and meant onely to make their profit of them.

(a) The firſt onſet of this young Prince preſently vpon his Inauguration, as an ouerture and *omen* to that which followed, was an exceſſiue demaund of money from the *Netherlands*, vnder pretence of paying his debts. But he could not obtaine a moitie of that which hee

ſought,

sought, neither would that bee granted without a conuocation of the generall *States* of the 17. *Belgicke Prouinces*. The which was wonderfully ill taken by the *Spanish Councell*, and by those that inriched themselues with the treasure of the peoples ruine: so that some Noblemen and Gouernours of some Prouinces and Townes, were not onely in disgrace with the King and his Councell, but were also iudged guilty of high treason; and the Noblemen which had in any sort contradicted his demand, were marked vnto death vpon the first oportunitie that should be offered, for that they would not instantly yeeld vnto the first demand, without any conuocation of the *States*. Notwithstanding, that which was granted him (being called the *Novena'l ayde* amounted in all, to fortie millions of Florins of *Brabant* mony. But this conuocation of the *States Generall*, was both to the King and his Councell (as it hath beene euer since) most odious; as we shall see by the beginning of the troubles which happened in the said *Netherlands*, whereof grew the warres, which haue continued since the yeere *1566*. vnto this day.

Meetings of the Nobles, and councels of the subiects, odious to Tyrants.

Awhile after this the King departs into *Spayne*, and by the meanes of the Cardinall *Granvile*, (a gracious Courtier; and the more like to bee so, in that hee was knowen to be a graceless Church man) *Margaret* of *Austria* Ducheſſe of *Parma* baſtard daughter to the Emperour *Charles* the fift, and so the Kings base sister, was made Gouerneſſe of the *Netherlands*. Yet before his departure, the warres with *France* beeing finished, and peace concluded, the *States* hauing a iealous eye for the publike libertie, and seeing the *Spanish* souldiers garrisond in the best Townes of the *Netherlands*, they with

The worse clergie man, the better Courtier.

the Nobility petitioned to the King, to haue them ſent away; and to vrge it to bee done with more ſpeed, they preſented to the King their fundamentall Principles, his Oath to preſerue them inuiolate, and their farther ieloufies and feares were not altogether denyed or diſſembled, but rather plainly inſinuated and auouched.

This that they deſired was at laſt done, though ſlowly, and much againſt hayre and heart: Now therefore the *Spanish* Faction wrought with ſuch of the Nobilitie as ſought Office, or vvere couetous either of fauour, vvealth, or honour, after a more bold and open maner; ſhewing plainely, that except the Countries were reduced to abſolute obedience by forraine Garriſons, and the awe of a conquering Armie, it vvas an impoſſible work to punish the Heretickes, vvho vvould otherwiſe ſo increaſe, as the Countries would be wholly loſt.

Religiõ made the maske of State, as it euer vſed by Tyrants and Atheiſts.

The wiſer and honeſter ſort, *of whatſoeuer opinion in Religion they were*, ſaw this ſnare and shunned it, and gaue others warning alſo. Notwithſtanding ſome there vvere (as all Hiues haue ſome Drones, and all States haue ſome ſlaues bred in them) that vvere contented to vveare fetters, ſo they might be made of gold, and they might helpe to make them.

But for the effecting of this, the *Inquiſition* muſt bee introduced, vvhich had before beene reiected in the time of *Charles* the fift. Accordingly a *Commiſsion* vvas ſent *May the* 11, 1565. by the vvhich, according to the vvords thereof, ample and full Commiſſion vvas giuen to the *Inquiſitors*, to make inquiſitions, proceedings, corrections and punishments, degradations, deliuerances to the ſecular Power, to vſe impriſonment, and apprehenſion of men, making of Proceſſes vvithout any

No ſuch equal courſe as is vſed in the Star-chamber.

forme

forme of Iuſtice; chooſing onely ſome one of the Kings Councell, vvho should be bound to giue ſentence as they should require, according to the forme and tenor of the Apoſtolicke Letters vvritten touching that, without any attendance or requiſition of the ordinary Iudge, or Dioceſan of the place; and that againſt thoſe that are ſuſpected of Hereſie, or that shall reade forbidden Bookes, or shall make Aſſemblies, diſpute or talke of the holy Scriptures.

Item, to call before them as often as they pleaſe, all his Maieſties ſubiects, of vvhat authority, power, ſtate, quality or condition vvhatſoeuer, be they Preſidents, Councelours, Burgomaſters, Aldermen or other Officers, to ſweare them by Oath, againſt all thoſe they shall name, vpon paine to be punished as ſuſpect and fauouters of Hereſie. In reſpect vvhereof, all Magiſtrates, Gouernours, and Officers, vvere enioyned to giue all ayde, aſſiſtance and fauour vnto the ſaid *Inquiſitors*, in the execution of their charge, vvhenſoeuer they should bee required, vpon the ſame paines, &c. beſides many other things directly repugnant to all right, and the auncient Priuiledges and Cuſtomes of the Country.

Moreouer, the moſt apparent and notable perſons, aſwell among the Nobles, as Merchants and Artizans, and eſpecially the richeſt, vvere already inrolled in theſe *Inquiſitors* Bookes to proceed againſt them, as againſt men ſubiect to confiſcation both of body and goods, at the leaſt in caſe of repentance, to great pecuniary Fines. Thereupon vvas heard of all ſides the brags and threates of *Inquiſitors*, *Prieſts* and *Monkes*, daring to preſcribe, yea to name in their Sermons the moſt apparent; whereof not onely the people of *Antwerpe*, which heard it, and

the Magistrates, which had beene daily informed, beare witnesse, but also the townes of *Lille*, *Tournay*, *Valenciennes*, and others of the Countries of *Flanders*, *Brabant*, *Holland*, and *Arthoys*, where as these threates haue beene publiquely heard from the mouthes of the Priests and Preachers.

Whereupon those of *Brabant* began first to intimate, that their Duchie was falne to the King of *Spaines* Predecessors by right of Election, the which depended vpon Conditions sworne of either side: all which Conditions they said were broken, if they brought the *Inquisition* of *Spayne* into that Country. Those of *Brabant* did also produce sixe principall Articles, among others of their Priuiledges, whereof the first was:

1 (a) *That the Duke of* Brabant *might not augment the State of the Clergie, more then it had beene in old time.*

(a) This was broken by the introducing of the 14 new Bishops and their Canons.

2 (b) *That the Duke might not pursue ciuilly or criminally, any of his naturall subiects or strangers dwelling there, but by the ordinarie course of the Iustice of the Countrey, whereas the accused may defend and iustifie himselfe by his Councell.*

(b) This by the death of diuers of the Nobilitie, as the Earles of Horne, Egmond and others.

3 (c) *That the Duke may not rayse any tribute or other imposition, nor attempt any innouation, without the consent of the State of the Country.*

(c) This was infringed by new formes of exaction of the hundreth and twentieth peny, and of the tenth peny vpon merchandize and handiworkes.

4 (d) *That the Duke may not place any strangers or forrainers in any Offices of* Brabant, *except in certaine petty exceptions; namely, in his Court, where he may haue two strangers*

(d) This was infringed by making Spaniards principall Officers

gers

gers of his Councell, ſo as they be of the ſame Language; as alſo one that is not borne in Brabant, *having for a time enioyed ſome free Seignory there, may be Preſident in the ſayd Court.*

in the Netherlands, whereas no Netherlander had Office in Spaine.

5 *That whenas the Duke would aſſemble all his Eſtates, were it to demand money, ayde, ſubſidues, or any other thing of his ſubiects, that thoſe of* Brabant, *nor the other Eſtates of the Countrey, ſhould not be bound to goe out of the limits of the Country, nor to conclude any thing out of it.*

6 *If it ſhould happen that the Duke would reſtraine and infringe their Priuiledges, were it by force or otherwiſe, in that caſe his ſubiects of* Brabant *hauing made a ſolemne proteſtation before, ſhould be freed and diſcharged of their oath and homage, and as freemen may prouide for themſelues, as they ſhall thinke moſt conuenient. Which priuiledges, moſt part of the Townes and Prouinces did chalenge, and doe maintaine them to be in like ſort proper to them, and ratified by* Maximilian *king of* Romanes, *in the yeere 1488. the 16. of* May; *not as if then he gaue them any new Priuiledges which they had not before, or which lay in his power to take away at pleaſure, but that he onely ratified their old Principles, as a iuſt Prince, who was careful to diſcharge his dutie for their after-ſafety and libertie.*

Beſides all theſe allegations and propoſitions, in the end they durſt ſay openly, that by the feodall Lawes, the Lord loſeth the right of his Fee, by the ſame occaſion of fellony, that the vaſſall forfeits his fee vnto the Lord: inferring thereby, that by reaſon of the *Inquiſition*, the which did attempt manifeſtly againſt the Lands and Goods of the Kings vaſſals, they might iuſtly forget their duty of fealty to him that brought it in by force and fraude.

Notwithstanding, they proceeded by way of Petition both to the King and Gouernesse; and after sundry Petitions, at length obtained onely this fauourable moderation of all tyrannies and oppressions, that burning should be turned into hanging; whereby we see what
Pr. 12. 10 *Salomon* saith verified, *The mercies of the wicked are cruell.* Yet the States continued to petition to the King, but to no purpose; for contrarie resolutions were taken in *Spaine*, (where the King was in person, where all councels were forged, and from whence they hoped for redresse) that all mens Goods and Lands, together with all auncient Priuiledges, should bee forfeited and lost. And the Duke of *Alua*, a politicke Gouernour, and great Souldier, was sent to execute all by strong hand, and reduce the Countries to absolute obedience, as if they had not beene places of inheritance, but Countries conquered. Now all these pressures were vpon purpose cast vpon the people to discontent them, and force the people to rebell, whereby hee might haue occasion of that generall Conquest, which those high-minded *Spaniards* supposed to be easie to their daring and slaue-subduing spirits, though the yssue prooues they tooke their Iewell too low, and their wisedomes were deceiued and much mistaken in the maine matter.

Red-scarfe.

But shall I be so simple as to beleeue you affirming, that the King of *Spaine* sought to discontent his people, that they might rebell, and so hee finde occasion to inuade their Liberties farther? Doth not any King rather seeke to rule his people in peace, then prouoke them to rebellion, whose suppression would both bee chargeable vnto him, and also dangerous being vncertaine?

Tawny-

Tawny-ſcarfe.

You ſhould ſhew your ſelfe very wiſe if you could diſprooue it, and very ſimple till then not to beleeue it, vpon ſuch pregnant proofes as hath or ſhall bee produced. The fore-mentioned practiſe of prouoking people to profitable offences, hath beene auncient, and is vſual with Tyrants, vvho finde no pleaſure in commanding, except they may be abſolute. And though perhaps they could bee content vvith obedience to their abſolute commands vnder peaceable termes, yet if they ſee the leaſt oppoſition or variation, preſently they take new Councels to mixe all in combuſtion and confuſion, like another Chaos, thereby to raiſe vp the worke new according to their owne fancies, (which they preferre before reaſon, Religion, or all lawfull delights) by the hand of power or policie.

Thus the inſulting *Spaniard* thinkes it is not enough, or any thing worth, to haue the addition of Countries by acceſſe of mariage or any other title, except alſo hee comes in by a kinde of Conqueſt; or, being let in vpon termes of peace, proceed to faſten vpon all by force as a Conquerour; otherwiſe hee thinkes hee cannot lord it enough, and there is ſome diſparagement to his inuincible arrogancie. Let *Arragon* and *Portugal* at home, and *Naples* and theſe parts abroad, be witneſſe of this truth, as alſo euery other place vvhereupon he ſets the print of his feet; let the firſt conditions of his entry be what they will, the yſſue is Conqueſt, and the worſt that Conqueſt can doe.

And to reſolue you yet farther of this truth, firſt, the Letters of *Franciſco d' Allana*, Ambaſſadour for the King of *Spayne* at the French Court, vvritten to the Ducheſſe of

of *Parma* Gouerneſſe of the *Netherlands*, doe manifeſt this amongſt many other things; where hee ſhewes, "That the vprore happening about Images, which you mention as an haynous and capitall crime, would cauſe his Maieſtie to reape ſo great a benefit, as to ſee them by that occaſion reduced wholly to his obedience, and to that eſtate and gouernement whereunto his Predeceſſours could neuer attaine, and the which he hath ſo long deſigned and deſired; and withall, to haue the meanes (the which no good ſeruant will counſell his Maieſtie to let ſlip) to ſubdue * *one by another* whom he pleated, that might hereafter oppoſe themſelues to the good of his affaires in thoſe Countries.

* Thus al men and all States are ſubiected one by another: but were they ſo wiſe to ſtand one by another, tyranny could neuer preuaile with all his politique pretences.

Againe, in the ſame Letter, to effect this the better, he giues the Ducheſſe inſtructions, how ſhee ſhall cunningly carry her ſelfe to the Nobilitie of the Countrey, who ſeeme to ſtand for the King, ſaying:

"And for that (Madam) the point which to mee ſeemes of greateſt importance in this action, is to aſſure more and more the **diſguiſed ſeruants* whom you know. Your Highneſſe I hope will not take it ill, if I doe againe aduertiſe you to temporize with them, and to force your ſelfe as much as you can, to aſſure them aſwell by your ſelfe, as by others ſuborned, of the great good opinion and ſatisfaction which his Maieſtie hath of their actions, and of the loue he beareth them; that he beleeueth and ſaith, that they haue done him ſo notable a ſeruice, as he thinkes himſelfe bound vnto them, that the *Netherlands* are yet vnder his obedience; and that without their preſence and wiſedomes, they had either beene a prey to ſtrangers, or bathed with the bloud of his owne ſubiects. For although (Madam) they be cunning and

* That is, the Nobility and States, who petitioned for redreſſe of iniuries.

and counterfeit, as we know, yet the time and occasions doe require, that for his Maiesties seruice they should vse these artificiall speeches. And I beleeue, that your Highnesse shall finde by experience, that they will helpe something to entertaine them, at the last to containe them; as we haue already found, not onely by them, but also by those * two which are gone to his Maiestie, with whom they haue caried themselues so cunningly giuing thē such intertainment, as they do not now sweare, but by the faith they owe vnto their Master. And besides, they haue made such *practises in their Families, as they cannot doe nor say any thing, but it is presently aduertised.*

* The Marquesse of Bargen, and the Earō of Montigny, who caried the petition of the States to Spaine by the Regents command, and beeing of the Nobilitie of the Netherlands, stood notwithstanding wholly for the King. Yet the first of these dyed of poyson secretly, as was generally suspected: the other was poysoned by a Page, as was notoriously knowne and confessed Anno 1567.

Thus he: and by this we see the generall ayme, as I haue before laid it downe; and all men may perceiue, especially Nobles, vvhat account is made of them, euen by such as vse them to betray their Countries liberties and their owne; and what spies are set vpon them at home in their chambers: vvhich may make them carefull of *Spanish* Followers, or of any commended to them by that Faction, though aloofe off, and *comming much about.*

Besides this *Spanish* practise, of comming in by Conqueſt, appeares by the Articles of aduise, concluded vpon and pronounced by the *Inquisition* of *Spaine* the 15. of *February 1568.* and confirmed by the King the 20. following in this manner:

The most sacred Office of the Inquisition *so often attempted in the* Netherlands *by his Maiestie, and hindred vntil this*

time, shall be instituted and aduanced in this manner, which is most expedient.

(1) He was too old, and too wise, and too good, hauing had long experience of their ouill counsell, to be ruled longer by them.

They must perswade the (1) *Emperour*, beeing gone astray, and wickedly confederated with Heretickes, that he resigne his Kingdomes vnto his Sonne, with the vvhole administration of the *Netherlands*.

(2) None of these would serue their turne, growing now old, and beginning to be deuout.

(2) That the *Emperour with his two sisters*, hauing giuen ouer all affaires, leauing the *Netherlands*, shall retire into *Spaine* to Vs, being assured that they shall neuer returne more to doe any harme.

(3) To diuide the Princes loue from the people, a principall meanes to aduance Tyrannie.

(3) These being dispatcht, we must also *draw the King to vs*, and keepe him for euer that he part not, and not suffer *any Flemmings* to haue accesse or conference vvith him.

(4) Clergimen made euer instruments and actors to inuade the liberties of others, if themselues may be free: and the greater places and immunities they enioy, the lesse they care for the publique.

(4) That the King write vnto, and commaund the *Clergie* of the *Netherlands*, that vvith the *Inquisition* they should accept of 15. new *Bishops*, the which should bee free from all *secular Iurisdiction*, yea in *cases of Treason*.

(5) They are made by force vpon purpose, to reuolt for the Kings supposed aduantage.

(5) The subiects of the *Netherlands* through their malice and waywardnesse, will *reuolt and mooue seditions* and tumults, pleasing to all but to our companie.

(6) Old Nobility odious to Tyrants, new Nobility not so: for they are raised vpon purpose to serue the Prince and time.

(6) The Princes and Noblemen, *heads and authors of those Factions* vvith the subiects, must be *taken away*, and the others reduced vnto reason.

(7) They

(7) They shall hire at our charge *theeues and spoylers of Churches and Images, whose offences shall be by all the World imputed to Rebels*, by some subtill meanes, and so we shall vanquish them.

(7) The Nobleman had bookes protested vnto them vnderhand by spies of the Inquisition, who accused them assoone as they had bought.

(8) That all *Commerce, Negotiation, Liberties, and Priuiledges*, shalbe rooted out, and that all be reduced to extreame pouertie, whereby the Realme shall bee permanent for Vs.

(8) The vndoing of trade and impouerishing of the people, a step towards Tyrannie. So Natiues shall be weeded out, and strangers placed in their steads.

(9) No man of all those Countries (except hee bee of *our Faction*) shall be held worthy to liue; and finally all to be rooted out: and all Goods, Possessions, Arts and Trades, and all *Order to be taken away*, vntill there may be a new Realme, and a new people.

(9) Silence of Lawes, confusion of men, office, order, all things, a step towards Tyrannie.

(10) In this action the wise and valiant Duke of *Alua* shall be imployed in person; whereas any other, were he of the bloud royall, or a Prince, shall bee of no esteeme: so as being suspect, yea in the smallest matters, they must be dispatcht.

(10) Men of authoritie must be made the bawds and brokers for Tyrannie. Cruell natures fittest for such imployment.

(11) No Contracts, Rights, Promises, Donations, Othes, Priuiledges, and solemne Assections of the *Netherlands* shall be of any force for the inhabitants, as being guilty of high Treason.

(11) Where the people can not trust the Prince, how shall the Prince trust the people? Tyrants by being false, learne their people to be so: and whilst they count and call good men Traytors, (as) make them such to their cost in the yssue.

Thus you see the generall purpose of a Conquest and

that deliberately, consulted and layd downe by the *Spanish Councell*, and accordingly the Emperour remooued, (who being born in the *Netherlands*, bare the people too great and good affection, to presse them farre enough for the *Spanish purpose*, nature mitigating his ambition; though otherwise he could haue beene contented to see them easily and willingly subiugated without bloud) and *a new King* brought in *that knew not Ioseph*, nor might be acquainted either with his seruice, or with any of his stocke, who confirmed these cursed *Articles* before recited, and the *Inquisitors* bloudie sentence thereupon, by his kingly authoritie and publike act. *Anno 1568. Feb. 16.*

Exod. 1. 8.

And awhile after (to finish and perfect this plot to the full) the Duke of *Alua* was sent with an armie of strangers, to enter like a Conqueror, to lay the yoke vpon them by force, and to humble them so farre, as they should not onely afterward indure the Kings owne absolute commands, but his seruants also; yea the meanest command of the basest vassall that should be borne *Spanish*, and be there sent to domineere. Yet after the powring foorth of so much bloud, when *d'Alua* boasted, that he had caused *18000.* persons to passe vnder the hands of the common Executioners, besides those banisht and slaine in the warres, or murthered by the *Spanish* souldiers in peace, he left these Countries more imbroyled, and farther from the subiection desired, then he found them: hauing onely wasted his Masters men and money, giuing the people a iust cause to disclaime his tyrannous authoritie, and to brand his beastly and sauage domination with these exceptions, and foule aspertions:

First, they charge him, that hee had counselled the King

King to vſe all extremities in all cauſes concerning the *Netherlands*, and was alwaies the head of ſuch as were worſt affected vnto thoſe *Prouinces*.

That he was the onely meanes of nourishing the diſlike and contention betweene *Dom Charles* Prince of *Spaine*, and *Dom Iohn de Auſtria*, and betweene others and him, by his bad reports. And that hauing gotten the gouernement and charge of the *Netherlands*, that he had procured his inſtructions and commiſſion to bee made according to his owne will and deſire, conformable to that auncient hatred that he had conceiued againſt that Countrey; adding thereunto, that hee had beene receiued more * peaceably, and more friendly into the *Netherlands*, then he hoped or deſired; which was onely in regard of the honour and dutie they owe vnto their naturall Prince, and vpon the promiſe made by the Regent, the Ducheſſe of *Parma*, that ſhee would haue ſeene all things paſt forgiuen & forgotten, for that euery one had done his beſt indeuour, to the vtmoſt of his power for his Maieſties ſeruice, and the peace of the land. But the Duke being come, he preſently declared, that the Priuiledges and Freedomes of the Countrey, the inſtitution of the Order of the *Golden Fleece*, and the Priuiledges of the Vniuerſitie of *Louaine*, (which the King had perſonally ſworne to obſerue) were all forfeited and loſt; thereby to hold and account the Land as a ſtrange Countrey, newly wonne and conquered by the ſword, and therein to rule and raigne according to his will and pleaſure.

* He hoped and fought reſiſtance, that he might conquer: which oppoſition becauſe hee found not at his entrie, he forced afterwards.

They ſay further, that his cruelties were ſo vnnaturall and vngodly, that neither *Nero*, *Pharaoh*, *Herod*, nor any heathen Tyrant could euer haue deuiſed or inuen-

ted greater; that hee had brought the King into contempt and great dislike of the *Netherlands*, although they were his patrimoniall inheritance, contrary to the admonition and counsell of *Aristotle* giuen to *Alexander* the Great, That to the *Grecians* he should shew himselfe a father, and as vnto a free Nation; but to the conquered *Barbarians* and strangers, as a Lord and Commander.

That he had caused iudgement to be giuen, and execution to be done vpon Noblemen and great personages, by strangers, defamed persons, and men of base condition and qualitie, and not without great and particular desire of reuenge; being such personages, without the which the King, nor the Emperour his father, should euer haue attained to so great estate and glorie. And that in *Bruxels* vnder pretence of hatred of Religion, he had tyed one *Anthony Vtenhow* a Gentleman, to a stake with a chaine, compassing him about with a great fire, but not touching him, for the *Spaniards* to passe the time withall, turning him round about like a poore beast; who was forced to liue in that great paine and extremitie, roasting before the fire so long, vntill that the *Hollanders* themselues hauing compassion of him, thrust him thorow, contrary to the will and intent both of the Duke and *Spanish* Priests.

Marke well these wayes of Conquest and Tyranny.

That he had mooued the King to helpe himselfe by foure tyrannicall meanes; first, *to disarme the Countrey*, not suffering the inhabitants to exercise Armes, but imploy strangers in his warres: Secondly, *to make and keepe them poore by oppressions, and laying great taxes vpon them*: Thirdly, *by making of Castles and Cittadels* (which some call the dennes and nests of Tyrants) to bridle them:

and

and further, *by feeding and nourishing of Liuſſon* among his ſubiects for Religion.

They obiect, that he had with holden the King for ſo many yeeres (notwithſtanding thoſe great dangers the Country ſtood in, and the need of his preſence) from comming perſonally into the *Netherlands*, as the Emperour his father did, onely for the troubles of the towne of *Gand*.

That hee had incenſed the King ſo much againſt the *Netherlanders*, as he would not vouchſafe to heare them, but rather to heare flatterers, their enemies; as it appeared by a packet of Letters ſent into *Spaine*, where they were kept vnopened nine moneths together, vntill the comming of Cardinall *Granville* into *Spaine*.

If a Prince begin once to hate a people, then his eares ſtand euer open to all ſiniſter informations. And there can be no better flatterie, and ſo no better Court-ſeruice then to bring him a ſlie tale to incenſe him farther,

That he had contemned the generall *Eſtates* of the *Netherlands*; perſecuting, iudging, condemning, and executing the Nobilitie and Gentlemen thereof, as traytors to their Countrey, becauſe they onely preſented an humble Petition to the Dutcheſſe of *Parma* being Regent, to craue an Aſſembly of the Generall *Eſtates*.

That he was not contented to haue deſtroyed and brought ſo many Noblemen, Gentlemen, rich and poore people vnto their ends, and to haue banished and driuen ſo many out of their Countrey, but had ſo hardly and badly vſed thoſe that remained in the Country, as they were falne into deſpaire, and were pitied and lamented in all Kings and Princes Courts: vvhereby thoſe that were in the Land, had beene compelled to ioyne with the banished perſons, vvhen as they perceiued, that the Pardon made by the Pope and the King, by his onely meanes and procurement, tended onely to (a) deceit, as being full of double interpretations, exceptions,

(a) Gracious Pardons, holy Diſpenſations

tions, and restrictions, whereon they might not trust; the (a) *Netherlands* for the most part, that are a people that commonly are good, old, and Catholike Christians, being esteemed for Heretickes by the new Spanish *Mauritane Christians*, for which cause many spirituall persons fearing the rigour and crueltie vsed, by punishing and banishing of the people, procured attestations, certificates, and testimonials from their Bishops and Pastors, to testifie them to be cleere, and not to haue offended, whose names he caused to bee written and sent into *Spaine*, thereby to bring the Spiritualtie into suspition of Heresie, and so to bereaue them of all honour and credit, seeking to bring the spirituall goods and liuings of the Countries of the *Netherlands* into the Kings hands, after the *Spanish* manner, thereby to bestow them vpon the *Spaniards*.

(a) This was the case betwixt Catholike and Catholike. Marke it, O all ye English Catholikes, it is not sufficient to be Romish Catholickes, except ye be Spanish Catholickes also.

That his crueltie appeared by his ransacking, spoiling, ruining, expelling, destroying, imprisoning, chayning, banishing, and confiscating of mens goods, burning, hanging, beheading, breaking vpon vvheeles, hanging men aliue by the feete, and vvith most horrible and incredible tormenting, racking, and murthering of so many noble and vnnoble, rich and poore, young and old, widowes and orphans, men, women, and young maides, of all estates and conditions: so as hee bragged sitting at meate, that he, hauing done the best he could doe to roote out all Heresies, had caused eighteene thousand men to be executed and put to death by the ordinarie minister of Iustice, within the space of sixe yeres that he gouerned the *Netherlands*, not accounting those that his soldiers in the *Netherlands* by the warres, by their cruelties, and other tyrannous meanes had murthered and

and miſerably conſumed and brought vnto their ends, which without all doubt could not chuſe but bee an innumerable number: and yet *Vergas* the Preſident of his bloudie Councell, that went with him into *Spaine*, complained and ſaid, that *nimia miſericordia*, too much mercie, ſpoyled the *Netherlands*: which too much mercie of his was ſuch, that a man could hardly keepe and preſerue his owne goods from ſpoile, becauſe of his and his ſouldiers couetouſnes; nor his vvife and daughter from abuſe, becauſe of their lecherie, nor his life from violence, becauſe of their bloud-thirſtineſſe: neither could Nobilitie, riches, honeſtie, nor yet any fore-paſſed merit or ſeruice, helpe or auaile any man, if he were once fallen into hatred and diſlike of him.

That he vſed to helpe himſelfe to effect his will by ſuborning of falſe witneſſes, at it appeared at *Dornicke* at the death of *Martin Hutten*, who was the Kings Officer, executed for the ſame.

That without reſpect of any iuriſdictions and ordinarie Cuſtomes of the Countrey, hee tooke all authority from the Iudges, both of criminall and ciuill cauſes, which in any wiſe might concerne the Confiſcations vſed and executed by his bloudie Councels; whereby neither ſpirituall nor temporall perſons, widowes nor orphans, poore Hoſpitals, Lazer-houſes, Orphans houſes, nor ſpirituall Hoſpitals, that had iuſt and due penſions, and yeerely Rents comming, proceeding, and to bee yeerely payed vnto them out of the reuenues of the baniſhed and executed perſons goods, could be payed; but he to the contrarie, drew it all into his owne hands, without giuing any charge to ſee the ſaid Rents payed out of the confiſcated goods and lands once regiſtred,

the list whereof he sent vnto the King, amounting (as he set it downe) to about eight millions of Guldernes yeerely, that so he might couer his cruelty with the profit thereof, and thereby winne great commendation in *Spaine*.

That the vnreasonable and vnspeakable exactions and taxes the one following the other, (besides the confiscations afore-said) exacted and laid vpon the poore people were exceeding great, as the hundreth peny granted vnto him for sixe yeeres, which amounted vnto many millions of Guldernes; the twentieth peny, and also he asked the tenth penie of all goods moueable and vnmooueable, yea and of all wares bought and sold, and sought by all the meanes he could, to raise the same (against the aduice of all the Estates and Councels of the Countrey) not onely proceeding of the cleare gaines of the things sold, but the tenth and twentieth peny of the capitall and principall value of all things sold: so as they should haue driuen all Trade of Merchandize, handicrafts, and dealings (whereby the Inhabitants for the most part get their liuings) out of the *Netherlands*; which exaction hee thought with all rigour and extremitie to haue raised and put in practise, if he had not beene impeached and hindred from the same by the warres; whereas before that, the Countrey gaue him twenty hundred thousand Guldernes yeerely, besides certaine extraordinarie millions continually payed. To conclude, he caused the King and the *Netherlands* in sixe yeeres gouernement to spend at the least fiftie two millions of Guldernes, which came for the most part out of the *Netherlands* purses

That he caused the English Merchants goods that did traffique

traffique in *Antwerpe*, (vpon hatred of Religion, and thinking thereby to driue them from thence) amounting to seuen hundred thousand Guldernes, to be arrested vnder pretence of money that should bee arrested and withholden from him in *England*, which neuertheless appeared to be none of his: writing to the King of *Spaine* to doe the like, without any consideration, that the *Netherlands* had more to lose in *England*; who thereby lost in *England* twelue hundred thousand Guldernes, wherewith the most worthy and famous Queene of *England* recompenced her subiects for their losses: But the Duke of *Alua*, neither yet the King of *Spaine*, would not offer, promise, or pay the *Netherlands* one peny; notwithstanding afterwards, that by the reckoning made by the Merchants on both sides, he (hauing receiued in the Merchants names, about two hundred thousand Guldernes of ouerplus found to be in the English Merchants hands) would not giue it vnto those persons that had lost it, as the Queene of *England* did; but rather caused many men (by reason of stopping the Trade) to become Bankrupts, to the generall hurt and preiudice of the whole Countrey. Besides, for want of paying his souldiers, hee suffered them, without all militarie discipline, to vse all ryotous, disordered, and forcible actions; as threatning of the people, striking, robbing, ransacking, forcing of women, and such like actions, and to burne and spoile diuers faire Villages, as *Catwicke* vpon the Sea, *Santfort*, *Alfen*, and many others; and ransacking diuers Townes, to murther the people, thinking to haue entred forcibly into *Vtrecht* and other townes, and to haue spoyled and ransackt the same: what they did to *Dornicke*, *Valencia*, *Ypre*, *Maestricht*, *Deuenter*, *Mechelen*, *Oude-*

This money belonged to the Merchants of Genoa, as is afterward shewed.

Oudenard Dermonde, Naerden, and elsewhere, is yet in most fearefull remembrance.

In his time in *Bruxels*, there was aboue one hundred and thirty Burgers murthered, and cruelly brought vnto their ends by the *Spaniards*. In *Gand* in a certaine vprore made by the *Spaniards*, there was sixtie or seuentie Burgers at one time, and after that an innumerable number of men and women slaine and murthered. In *Ypre* likewise at the execution of a Preacher, there was two and twenty Burgers shot thorow and killed, besides those that were hurt.

In *Dornicke* at a certaine vprore betweene them of the Castle, and the townes Garrison, two *Spaniards* beeing slaine, they cryed *Spania, Spania*, and therewith wilfully killed fifteene Burgers: and there likewise they forcibly entred into the widow *Pottiers* house in the day time, and killed her daughter and her cousin, thinking to haue found great store of money in her house; for the which there was no other execution done vpon the offenders, but onely they that had done the deed, were sent away from thence, and put into another Garrison.

In *Flessingue* was there not a Bill found about *Pacieco*, (that was kept prisoner by them) wherein was the names of an innumerable number of men both Gentlemen and others of the chiefest Bourgers, which by the Dukes commandement should haue beene murthered in the yeere 1572. in diuers townes, thereby to compell them to yeeld to the tenth penie? What horrible murthers were done and committed in *Naerden* and *Harlem*, contrarie to the faithfull promises made in *Dom Frederickes* name, is manifestly knowne to euery man: where he caused all the soldiers (not sparing their young boyes

and

and Pages) to be executed, ſuffering their dead bodies ſtarke naked to lie a whole day and a night vpon the ſcaffolds, and in the market place, to the great ſhame and feare of the women and maids; and ſome of them that had deliuered the Towne vnto him, he determined to ſend them into *Spaine* to be Galley-ſlaues, and thoſe that lay in the * *Fuyck* by *Harlem*, he ſuffered them to die for hunger, ſaying, *That he promiſed them their liues, but not to giue them meate.* The good Bourgers he compelled to be Pioners before the towne of *Alcmar*, that ſo hee might bring them vnto their ends.

* A Sconce ſo called neere Harlem.

There is no honeſt nor godly Chriſtian, but abhorreth and is ashamed to doe any iniuries vnto the bodies of the dead; and the buriall of the dead is thought a fit and an honourable thing amongſt the Heathens and Barbarians: but the Duke of *Alua* cauſed diuers dead bodies (to ſpite both God and man) after they had beene buried and lien certaine dayes in the ground, to be digged vp againe, and to bee drawne vnder the Gallowes, and there to be hanged or burnt; alledging, that they died without receiuing the Sacrament, or being confeſt: but in truth it was done onely, that according to his Proclamation, he might confiſcate their goods.

The ſtate of marriage (the onely foundation of all ſocietie in euery place and Towne, and the bond of loue and peace, the right ground of all good life and conuerſation amongſt men, which moſt conſiſteth in true and right conſent) was by the Duke of *Alua* broken and diſannulled; for that the parties that were married in the *reformed Aſſemblies*, were held as Heretickes vnleſſe they married againe, (which many did) intending thereby to beſtow the rich women vpon his ſouldiers for a priſe.

To conclude, he did openly breake and disannull all honest amitie and loue, that one man is bound to shew vnto another, murthering and executing vvomen that holpe their husbands, and children that comforted their parents in their vttermost and greatest extremities, and such as did but comfort them with a Letter; as was to be seene in the towne of *Maestricht*, vvhere the father was cruelly put to death because he lodged his sonne (that he had not seene in a long time before) one night; and another, because he gaue a poore widow (vvhose husband had beene put to death for Religion) certaine corne for almes; another, for that he sent certaine money vnto his friend which was then in *England*, and confiscated the goods of many honest and rich women, because they had lodged their husbands in their houses, whereby they were compelled to begge their bread.

Hee likewise prophaned the holy Sacrament of Baptisme, causing the children that had beene openly and publikely baptized *in the Name of the Father, of the Sonne, and of the holy Ghost*, to be baptized againe, because they had beene baptized (as hee said) by Heretickes, vvhich vvas against the Decrees of Councels, and all the Lawes both of God and man.

To shew his extreme pride and high minde, in the Castle of *Antwerpe* he caused his image to bee made and erected of brasse, (like *Nebuchadnezzar*) placing vnder his feet the *Nobilitie and States of the Countries of the Netherlands*: and at *Antwerpe* in the market place, where he published a Pardon, he caused a princely Throne to be erected, which is vsed to be set vp, onely therewith to honour Princes and Kings, which he of himselfe caused to be set vp and late thereon, to the diminishing of

the

the Kings honour, vvhich no Lieutenant to the King before him durſt attempt.

This is part of that vvherewith the Countries of the *Netherlands*, both of the one and the other Religion doe charge your great and glorious Duke of *Alua*, who vvent out of his command like a ſnuffe in the noſtrils of all the *Netherlanders*, that loued their Countries liberties, howſoeuer they varied in points and opinions of Religion.

After his departure the King ſent the great Commander of *Caſtile*, not to moderate any thing of his Predeceſſors tyrannie, but to purſue it more couertly and cunningly. In his time, vnder colour of a mutinie, *Antwerpe*, *Bruxels*, *Maſtricht*, *Aloſt*, with diuers other places, (beeing then vnder the peaceable gouernement of the King) were ſurpriſed by the Spanish Souldiers, ranſackt and burnt, as if they had beene townes of enemies, and at laſt forced to redeeme their owne liberty, by ſatisfying the Souldier their vnreaſonable demands; ſo vnderhand paying the Kings Army. The Captaine of theſe counterfeit Mutineers was one *Ieronymo de Rheda* a Prieſt; who (as it plainely appeares) had ſecret inſtructions to mutine, or pretend Rebellion, or doe, or counterfeit any other falshood, which might impouerish the people, make them vnable to reſiſt any violence, and ſo faciliate the Kings maine end of Conqueſt, and abſolute ſubiection of thoſe Countries to Tyrannie. Accordingly (the great Commander being dead) hee tooke vpon him, by ſome priuate inſtruction from *Spaine*, to rule all: whilſt notwithſtanding by publike Decree the King had eſtabliſhed the *Generall Eſtates* in the Gouernment. But it plainely appeared, the face and heart of theſe de-

ſignes

ſignes and actions was not all one. For howſoeuer the publike countenance ſtood for the *States*, the ſecret intent was that *Rhoda* should gouerne; which he knowing, vſurped the Kings name, authoritie, and Seale, and returning into *Spaine* afterward, in ſtead of punishment, vvas vvell rewarded for it: becauſe, though he croſt the publike Act of the King, yet he performed the ſecret intent, and priuate inſtruction giuen him. And this vvas manifeſtly diſcouered at the comming of *Dom Iohn of Auſtria* to gouerne, vvho was forbidden to ſpeake, or ſee *Rhoda*, or giue him any countenance, but to demeane himſelfe towards him, as if he had beene an enemy and Rebell, yet vnderhand to carry himſelfe in the Gouernment of thoſe Countries, onely as he should be directed by the inſtructions of *Rhoda*.

Thus *Dom Iohn* ſeemed to hold altogether with the Nobles and with the Countrey, to pitie their preſſures, to promiſe a ſpeedy redreſſe of all grieuances; notwithſtanding all this was but fained to betray them; for hee ſought and aymed at the ſame end that all the reſt had done before, though after a new manner; labouring to winne and conquer one part by another, and to diuide the Countries, that he might rule as hee liſt. All this plot vvas diſcloſed by the prouidence of God, who (being no *Tyrant*, but a *father* himſelfe) is an enemy to all oppreſſion and tyranny; and beeing *Truth it ſelfe*, hates all diſſimulation and falshood: for a Letter of the Kings to *Dom Iohn* was intercepted, wherein all theſe ſnares, traines, and plots, vvere amply layd downe and delineated to life, for the better execution of them when time ſerued. Vpon which, the whole State beholding nothing that might mooue them to hope for refor-

reformation, but vvhat might cauſe them rather to deſpaire of faire dealing, they altogether agreed and reſolued to renounce their allegeance to the King of *Spayne*, and finally to declare him falſe by Tyrannie from the Seignorie, Principalitie, Iuriſdiction, and Inheritance of thoſe Countries; vvhich accordingly they did, *Anno* 1581. by publike act.

And here you ſee ſome of the true cauſes of their finall breaking off from their obedience, and many of the new preſſures you ſo earneſtly enquire after; all which you muſt needes iuſtifie for reaſonable, if you be a reaſonable creature, and haue not the eyes of your vnderſtanding, as well as of your faith, ſeeled vp with a fether from one of thoſe *Romiſh Geeſe* that kept the Capitoll; or put cleane out by the application of *Spaniſh Catholicon* tempered vvith golden Drugges of the Eaſt and Weſt *Indies*.

For is it not reaſonable, that hee who diſclaimes his owne intereſt, vvhich is right and juſt, though not ſo large as he deſires, and flyes to another vvhich is anſwerable to his deſire in the extent, though vniuſt and violent, ſhould loſe the iuſt title which he diſclaymes, and receiue no manner of benefit from it? In caſe of tenures (I haue heard) that our Common Law (which is for the moſt part grounded vpon Reaſon) ſayth; That if a Tenant for life ſeekes to the prejudice of another perſon, to chalenge a ſtate of Inheritance, and to pleade it; being euicted therein, he loſeth his firſt title, and cannot fall backe to aſſume that Right vvhich before he diſauowed. But you will ſay, The King of *Spaine* did not diſauow his title of Inheritance by birth. I anſwere, by wordes (perhaps) he did not; but it is plaine, that by ouert acts hee

did, vvhen he ſought to *conquer his owne Inheritance*; and ſo taught the people *to reſiſt him as a common and publike enemie, who ſought the ſubuerſion of their fundamentall Lawes and Liberties, and the bondage of their Countrey.* Thus forgetting his owne duty firſt, hee taught them to forget theirs afterwards; and ſeeking to inthrall them vniuſtly, he gaue them a iuſt cauſe and ground of farther liberty.

Red-ſcarfe.

The Duke of *Alua* had neuer charge from *Spaine*, nor neuer intention of his owne to bring an *Inquiſition* into the *Netherlands*; this is but a meere calumnie which hath beene ſpread abroad, and giuen out by the ſeditious, to foſter the obſtinacie of the people: but had the *Inquiſition* beene brought into the *Netherlands*, it had but returned from whence in long fore-going yeres it came: for you muſt note, that the *Inquiſition* was neuer inuented or brought vp in *Spaine*, or there euer intended for Proteſtants, ſeeing it vvas in the world many ages before euer the world was acquainted with the name of the Proteſtants, or with any ſuch kinde of people as Proteſtants are: for the Emperour *Charles* the Great, who liued about eight hundred yeeres paſt, did firſt promulgate and put it in practiſe; and the cauſe was, that after the *Saxons* in their Countrey of *Saxonie*, (*Holland*, and thoſe annexed Prouinces beeing at that time part of the nether *Saxonie*) had beene brought from Paganiſme to Chriſtianity; this pious Emperour hauing greatly furthered it, he had no ſooner turned his backe by reaſon of his being impeached with warres in other parts, but theſe *Saxons* turned from Chriſtianity backe againe to Paganiſme; and for ſuch Apoſtata's and forſakers of the Faith, he ordayned an *Inquiſition*, the memory whereof

gaue

gaue example, that ſome ages after it was renued and put in practiſe in *Spaine*, for ſuch *Moores* and *Iewes*, as hauing receiued the character of Chriſt, fell back againe to Mahometiſme and Iudaiſme; and albeit this *Inquiſition* was neuer intended (as before is ſaid) to haue beene renued in the *Netherlands*, yet peraduenture it might haue prooued as neceſſarie, vvhen ſignes appeared of the good diſpoſition of ſome there aſwell to Mahometiſme as to Iudaiſme. For diuers that are yet liuing haue ſeene written vpon the Targets or Roundaſſes vvhich ſome of theſe *Geus*-gallants did beare, their reſolution thereunto, in theſe words, *Rather Turkish then Popish*; vvhich is in effect, *Rather Mahomet then Chriſt*: and *Hollanders* report themſelues, that ſome of their Countrimen haue beene ſo edified in the preſent Synagogue at *Amſterdam*, that they haue relinquished their Chriſtianitie, and are become *Iewes*; and for defect of an *Inquiſition*, had not any thing ſaid vnto them for it; nor muſt they, where profeſſion is made of ſuch conſcience-libertie, that euery man may chuſe what he will beleeue, or whether he will beleeue any thing or nothing.

But this may ſeeme the leſſe wonder, when there haue beene found among theſe *Geuſes*, a companie that marched vnder the *Enſigne of the Deuill*; for ſo was the Enſigne called, becauſe there were depicted therein the Deuils clawes, vvhich many that are yet liuing, haue ſeene diſplayed in the towne of *Leire* in *Brabant*, at ſuch time as it ſtood out in rebellion againſt the King: and ſo may you now ſee how rebellion againſt the King, and rebellion againſt God doe concurre together, for whereas ancient good Chriſtians hauing beene taught by the example of the moſt glorious Chriſtian Emperour *Conſtantinus*

ſtantinus Magnus to fight vnder the ſigne of the Croſſe, theſe new contrary Chriſtians abhorring that ſigne, haue more deuotion to the *clawes of the deuill*, a wel-deuiſed and befitting enſigne for ſuch as fought vnder it.

Tawny-ſcarfe.

Whereas you ſay that the Duke of *Alua* had neuer any charge from *Spaine*, or intention of his owne to bring an *Inquiſition* into the *Netherlands*, affirming this report to be a meere calumnie; I muſt tell you, he had not onely inſtructions to bring in the *Inquiſition*, as hath been formerly manifeſted; but, as if that had not bin ſufficient to vexe and exaſperate the people, by violating their priuiledges or principles of State, he creates *a bloudy Councell*, or *Councell of troubles*, whereof hee made ſome *Netherlandish* Lords, (*who had giuen ayme* whilſt their Country was brought into bondage, or were *vſed as inſtruments* to captiuate it the ſooner and ſafer by their ayde) the shadow of this *Tyranny*, whilſt *Spaniards* onely (vvho vvere ioyned in the ſame Commiſſion) ſwayed the whole buſineſſe; and all other Councels, whether Prouinciall, or that of the Councell of Eſtate it ſelfe, were ſubiected to this; and by this means all things reduced to the ſole arbitrement and abſolute will of the Duke himſelfe, vvho had full and ſoueraigne authoritie from the King; * *not tyed nor limited* to any inſtructions, but was *inueſted with libertie, freely to giue ſentence in any thing at pleaſure*.

* The King gaue the duke more authoritie then he himſelfe had, becauſe by that meanes he hoped to haue it the better himſelf afterward. So he gaue what he fought, to receiue backe with aduan-

And vvhereas concerning the originall of the *Inquiſition*, you ſay (like a learned Antiquary) it vvas begotten by *Charlemain* the Emperor, vvho liued 800. yeres ſince, and brought vp in *Germany* not in *Spaine*, but thither caried onely for the vſe of *Moores* and *Iewes*, and might be profitably (as you ſay) returned into the *Netherlands* againe,

againe, to keepe them from turning *Turkes* and *Iewes*, to vvhich you finde them very prone: I anſwer in a vvord, that the tyrannies of the *Spaniard*, and their impure and beaſtly conuerſation, with their abominable Idolatries, doth more ſcandalize the *Moores* and *Iewes*, and keepe backe, and driue more of them from the Faith, then can be reuoked by the *Inquiſition*, or any other ſuch bloudy courſe. And me thinkes, it is better, amongſt euils, to bee a profeſt *Turke* or *Iew*, then a counterfeit, cruell, proud, couetous, bloudy and barbarous Chriſtian; *though* (as one ſaith) *it were better to be no man, then either of both.* Wherfore I would haue a generall *Inquiſition* in all countries of Chriſtendome, onely to finde out ſuch as vvere *biſpaniolized* in the Dominions of other Princes; and ſuch would I haue worthily put to the ſame torments vvhich they inflict vpon others for their conſciences. Thoſe *Turks* and *Iewes* you ſpeake of, vvould I haue conuerted by prayers, diſputations, and good examples of vertue and juſtice: for no man hath ſure hold vpon that conſcience, which is retained by force from its own choyce and liberty; and therefore you finde fault very wiſely, for that euery man may beleeue what hee liſt in the *Netherlands*, as if your holy *Inquiſition* had power to make a man beleeue what it liſt in *Spaine*; you may force men to confeſſe, perhaps, but you cannot force them to beleeue; which is an action of the will ſubiect to no violence, but the force of perſwaſion, or the holy Spirits motion. And therefore conſidering what a heauy iudgment lyes vpon them, and how their eyes, eares, and hearts are ſeeled and ſealed vp, that *they cannot ſee, heare, and vnderſtand*, Rom. 11. 9 10, 11, 12. it were rather fit for Chriſtians to pitie them, and pray for their conuerſion,

rage. An old point of Lawcunning, to gaine a title by forged preſidents. Euery wrangling Attorney knowes this tricke.

then by cruelties to persecute them, and so to cause them to hate and abhorre the Name of Christ, and the profession of Christianity yet more then they do. *Dauid* in the *59.* Psalme, vers. 11. doth learne vs to make better vse of their neighbourhood, then to become their butchers.

As for that which you charge diuers of the *Geuses* withall, that they marched vnder an Ensigne whereupon was depicted the *deuils clawes*, which you oppose against that banner vvith the signe of the Crosse vpon it, borne by *Constantinus Magnus*; I answer, they rather thus correspond; Christs crosse is caried in token that he hath triumphed vpon the Crosse, ouer the Crosse it selfe, the Law, Death, and Hell; and now as an Ensigne of our spirituall liberty, that signe is spread and displaid abroad; so those perhaps caried the *deuils clawes* as it were in triumph, to shew how they were escaped from the *deuils clawes*; (your deuillish *Inquisition* and bloudy seruitude) and might now serue God vvith the liberty of conscience, according to that song of *Zacharias*, *Luk. 1. 7. That being deliuered from the hands of their enemies, they might serue him without feare.*

Col. 2. 15.

Red-scarfe.

Where free liberty of Conscience is allowed, why may not euery one beleeue as him list? vvhat shall restraine him? if you doubt of the *Hollanders* making difficulty of turning *Turkes*, doe but enquire what they haue done at *Tunis*, where they haue falne to *Mahometisme* by vvhole shipfuls at once; and afterward to mend the matter, haue taught the *Mahometans* of those parts the laudable science of Piracie, for the more affliction of Christians;

and

and as for *Iudaiſme*, ſuch as like thereof, and like no ſwines flesh, or can be content to forbeare the eating thereof, may be circumciſed when they will, and then ſpeake as much blaſphemy againſt Christ, as the Deuill will direct them to doe.

Thus haue I here shewed you what great wrong the King of *Spaine* hath done this people, and what great cauſe they haue to complaine of his breach of their Priuiledges, vvhich is alwayes in their mouthes, albeit they would neuer vouchſafe to produce any old Priuiledge for the robbing of Churches. I haue alſo shewed you where the *Inquiſition* began, and the cauſe vvhy it vvas firſt put in practiſe in *Saxony*, and afterwards in *Spaine*; the name whereof is now as much put in practiſe in *Holland* in continuall Pamphlets and Preachings, as is the name of a *Bulbegger* to make little children afraid.

Tawny-ſcarfe.

Still you harpe vpon beleeuing, till you make me beleeue, and all this good company vvho heare vs this day, that you know not what it is to beleeue. All the Lawes of the Land againſt *Romish Recuſants*, though they were as duely executed as they haue beene, could hardly perſwade you to beleeue aright as you should doe. And all the euidence vvhich your eares haue heard before the Iudges on the Bench, and eyes haue ſeene vpon the Bridge, and top of the Parliament-houſe, can hardly perſwade you to beleeue, that thoſe *Romane-catholike* crownes vvhich now pearch aboue, did once plot and practiſe below, to blow vp the State. An *Inquiſition* were fit for you therefore, leſt you proue worſe to vs through your

your vnbeleefe, then the *Turkes* of *Tunis*, or the *Mahometists* of *Amsterdam* that you mention, can doe.

You need not in the sterne of your Discourse recapitulate the notable pieces which you haue proued: for all that you say, doth but prooue how little you are able to say for your selfe and how you are led rather by your affection then reason. You haue had euidence enough, that the King of *Spaine* sought to plant a tyranny in the *Netherlands*; and yet lest these should seeme in your eyes, or the like, not to be sufficient, I produce an honorable Ambassage sent from the Archduke *Mathias* and the *Generall Estates*, to a solemne Assembly of the Princes of the Empire, holden at *Wormes* in *Germany*, *anno* 1578. vvhere the Seignior of *S. Aldegond* declared at large, the miserable estate of the *Netherlands*, the designes and intent of *Spaine*, the tyranny of the Duke of *Alua*, *Don Iohn* and others; and vvithall, what danger the Empire vvas to expect thereby, whilst those Countries should be made the seate of the vvarre, a place of retreit and garrison, and a ready and able Magazine, by reason of their trading by Sea and the nauigable Riuers, to reduce all *Germany*, and so consequently all Christendome, vnder their obedience; if yet their ambitious aymes looked no farther.

This then vvas thought sufficient to put all Christendome vpon their guard; and yet all this is not sufficient to make you beleeue any thing, but the golden Legend of *Spaine*.

Then haue you the resolution of the Queene of *England* to helpe them, after mature deliberation and consideration of this their cause, and the question betwixt them and the King; and after she had long and in vaine inter-

interceded for them to the King, and presented both the iustice of their cause, and the danger of his iniustice by diuers demonstrations of loue to him. Now this her resolution must needs bee grounded vpon the manifest and apparent iustice of the cause, otherwise Monarches, and a timerous woman especially, would haue beene wary, euen for consequence sake, if not for conscience, how they fauoured or supported the subiects of another Prince, at least if they iudged them *Rebels*. But it is cleere both by the act it selfe whereby shee vndertooke their protection, as also by the reasons whereupon shee grounded that resolution, that shee tooke them for no *Rebels*, but for distressed people tyrannized ouer by a cruell, mercilesse, and bloudy enemy, who by strange dealing, had made himselfe a stranger to his owne.

This Iustus Lipsius wrote well in his Letter of aduice, 1593.

This also might appeare by the Duke of *Anjous* acceptance of the title of the Duke of *Brabant* and *Flanders*; and by the King of *France* his declaration made for approbation of the cause, and conditioning for the title after the death of his brother the Duke of *Anjou*; which he would not haue done, being of the *Romish Religion* also, if hee and his wise Councell had not by pregnant proofes seene, that the King of *Spaine* by his tyranny and intrusion, was falne from his Right, and had manumissed them from all necessary obedience.

This lastly is confirmed beyond question, by the last accord made betwixt the King of *Spaine* and these *States*, wherein the title he had is wholly relinquished; and he treates and concludes peace with them, as with *free States*, to whom he pretends no title; and so entertained their Ambassadours, as the Ambassadours of a Confederacie. Besides, the King of great *Brittaine*, *France*, *Den-*

marke, Sweden, the State of Venice, the *Germane* Princes, with other Nations in Christendom & without, haue treated vvith them vpon the same termes, and haue concluded peace, and made leagues and alliances vvith them as vvith free *States,* acknowledging them to bee inuested with soueraigne power in the *vnited Body.* Now therefore it is iniustice for the King of *Spaine* to fall backe from his former conclusion, made so aduisedly, and to reuiue his title, as an *immortall cause* of vvarre and bloudshed; yea it is iniustice in you, or any other person, to defend that title by tongue, pen, or hand. For it cals both the vvisedome and honour of our owne King, and of all other Kings, Princes, and States, vvho haue made peace vvith that *State,* into question; yea it censures and condemnes them all; it dissolues all those Leagues and Confederacies of trade and commerce, of warres offensiue and defensiue, concluded with them for the generall good; and sets all Christendome in combustion, with a *Romish squib* of *reseruation,* and *Catholike equiuocation.* And surely, howsoeuer you, and such as you, may inconsiderately thinke meanely, and speake basely of the wisest and worthiest persons employed in that *State,* because you finde them without traine, or pompe, or titular vanities; and many of them raised for their experience, fidelity and vvisedome, from meane stations, to treade in those high steps of authority and superioritie, (as the *Romane* Consuls had vvont, of whom one sayd, *they were all Kings*) yet whatsoeuer is vnfit to bee spoken of other Princes, is vnfit to bee spoken of them in their places; and the iust attributes you giue other high Commanders, ought to be giuen them in their *vnited Body:* And that they exact it not, proceedes from their lenity

and

and humility; that you giue it not, proceedes from your ignorance, arrogance, malice, and pride. Therefore to conclude this poynt, the ſcrupulous ſouldier, vvho before either vvould not ſee the truth, or could not iudge it, may now be reſolued of the iuſtice of the warres, euen from the King of *Spaines* owne confeſſion and conceſſion, and from the publike acts of his owne Prince and State vvhere he liues. Beſides, the miraculous bleſſing and proſperity which God hath giuen to their warres, ſhewes *it is of him*; and the policie and power of Princes doth enuie it, and oppoſe it in vaine. God bleſſeth them with peace, and plenty, and riches in the midſt of warre, and impouerisheth and embroyleth their oppoſers, in the midſt of peace: as *Tantalus* is thirſtie with water at the lip, ſo theſe beggar and breake at the fountaine head of Gold and Siluer: God by all theſe meanes confirming their cauſe, and shewing himſelfe to be their God, if they will be his people. And this (I thinke) shall ſerue to ſatisfie you, at leaſt to ſilence your further clamour; shewing, that the Queene of *England* was mooued to take the *Netherlands* parts out of meere commiſeration of their iuſt cauſe, and the deteſtation of thoſe *Spanish* cruelties and tyrannies vnder which they groned.

Now if you be not weary of your taske, let vs come to ſpeake of the ſecond reaſon, inducing that good Queene to ſuccour them; which was, partly domeſticke reſpects, mixed with other important reaſons of State; namely, Becauſe of our auncient leagues with that people, our daily commerce and intercourſe, the dependancie of one State vpon another, the aſſurance of their good and approoued neighbourhood, the feare of *Spanish* propinquitie, eſpecially as the caſe ſtood with the

Queene, being ſole, of a contrary Religion, and obnoxious to the pretences and claimes of the next Succeſſor, vvho might be colourably aſſiſted by the inuincible Arme of *Spayne*, to diſmount the true Owner; and then the pretender by the ſame Arme hoyſted ouer the ſaddle, and ſo himſelfe eaſily ſettled in the ſeate of Soueraignty, by the *Popes* donation, as hath beene accuſtomed in other places.

Red ſcarfe.

Before I come to diſcourſe about Queene *Elizabeths* reaſons for taking the *Hollanders* parts, giue mee leaue, I pray you, to ſpeake a little of the vulgar multitude here in *England*, to the end you may conſider of the reaſons, why they hate the *Spaniard*, and loue the *Hollander*, to ſee how vvell and vviſely this loue and hatred is founded.

That *England* and *Spaine* haue anciently remained in great amity together, Hiſtories and Chronicles wil witneſſe, and the diuers alliances and marriages often made betweene theſe two Countries, can alſo giue teſtimony thereof.

True then it is, that the great breach and hoſtility betweene *England* and *Spaine* began but in theſe our dayes: let vs now ſee and conſider, vvhy and how it began; to wit, whether by *Spaine* or by *England*.

King *Philip* the ſecond of *Spaine*, as all the vvorld knoweth, did vpon the death of Queene *Mary* his wife, giue place and quiet entrance vnto Queene *Elizabeth*: and for further proofe of his deſire of continuance of peace and amitie with her, hee freely gaue vnto her all Queene *Maries* Iewels, they iuſtly belonging vnto himſelfe: he alſo kept his Ambaſſadour Lidger in *England*, as the ſaid Queene kept hers alſo in *Spaine*, profeſſing out-

outwardly vnto him all loue and amitie; and yet this notwitſtanding ſhee permitted ſecretly and vnderhand, the tranſport of Artillery and Munition of warre to the *Moores* of *Granado*, to enable them to rebell, iuſt about the very ſame time, that the *Netherland*-rebellion was determined to be begun, that thereby the King of *Spaine* might haue his hands full, by beeing thruſt into two vvarres at once; both which ſhee vnderhand furniſhed, but more the warre of the *Netherlands*, then that of *Granado*, becauſe of the readier commoditie. Soone vpon the continuing of this plot, when the King of *Spaine*, to appeaſe the *Netherland* broyles in the beginning, had ſent the Duke of *Alua* with Forces into thoſe parts; and after his arriual there, ſent him a ſupply of 600000. crownes; ſome affirme it to haue beene 800000, She ceized vpon his money in the vveſt part of *England*; and hauing gotten it vnder her hands, did therewith aſſiſt his *Netherland Rebels*, vvhereby this money ordained to haue ſerued himſelfe againſt his Rebels, came to ſerue his Rebels againſt him, and bred beſides this a farre greater inconuenience: for it was the cauſe why the Duke of *Alua* demaunded the tenth penie of the country peoples goods, whereby they became the more alienated and apt to Rebellion.

Some yeeres after this, Captaine *Drake* was employed from *England* to the vveſt-*Indies*, vvhere hee robbed the King of *Spaine* of about a million and an halfe of his treaſure. Theſe and ſundry other wrongs and detriments were done by the ſaid Queene vnto the King of *Spaine*, at ſuch time as either had their Ambaſſadours, the miniſters of peace, in each others countrey, they profeſſing to each other loue and amitie: the King of

Spaine doing againſt the Queene of *England* no act whatſoeuer to the contrarie, whereas ſhee contrariwiſe continued to doe againſt him vnderhand as many wrongs as ſhee could, beſides thoſe great notorious wrongs here mentioned. But when theſe grew ſo frequent, that the ſmart vnto the King of *Spayne* became intolerable; and ſo manifeſted vnto the world, that all other Princes and people tooke notice thereof, how was it poſſible that it could ſtand with the honor of a King, and of ſuch a potent King as is a King of *Spayne*, ſtill to continue to put vp wrongs, as faſt as ſhee continued to doe them? hee was therefore at the laſt mooued with the preparation of his great *Armada nauall* of the yeere of our Lord 1588. the memory whereof, by the inceſſant clamors of *puritanicall enemies of peace*, hath poſſeſſed more place in the heades of the inconſiderate vulgar multitude, then the many great wrongs that inforced it.

But thankes bee to God, our peacefull King *Iames* comming to the Crowne, and well knowing how matters had paſſed, did (to the great happines of the Realm) ſalue vp this ſore from further feſtring, vvhereunto hee found *Spaine* moſt ready and willing, and well content to let paſſe and forget all English iniuries. For to giue the *Spaniards* their due, certaine it is, they are men that are not of vnreconciliable and reuengefull natures, nor ſuch long entertainers of deſire of reuenge, as ſome other Nations are ſaid to be: And this appeareth manifeſtly in this Nation more then in others; for notwithſtanding all fore-going hoſtilitie betweene *Englishmen* and *Spaniards* both by ſea and land, and inuaſions euen in *Portugal* and *Spaine* it ſelfe, vvhereof people may remaine more ſenſible, then of an vneffectuall *Armada*,

yet

yet hath not any *English* Ambaſſadour, nor any other of the *English* Nation beene by *Spaniards* in *Spaine* barbarouſly abuſed; but I am ashamed (euen for the honor of our Nation) to repeate, how *Spanish* Ambaſſadors and other *Spaniards* haue beene vſed in *England*.

As for the ſundry benefits which the commerce and traffique betweene *England* and *Spaine* hath brought vnto our Nation, I doubt not but many of our Merchants, ſea-faring men and others will confeſſe, and farre more profit and benefite will no doubt enſue the moſt honorable and great alliance now expected.

But let vs come to our good neighbours and friends the *Hollanders*, and conſider of the gratefull goodneſſe and benefits which we reape by them, that thereby wee may know how well and wiſely wee are aduiſed to eſteeme them for our good neighbours and friends, and ſo friendly ſticking vnto them.

That we haue for aboue theſe fifty yeeres taken their parts is ſufficiently knowne; that the people of *England* haue oftentimes generally ſmarted by the great preſſures and parliamentall payments impoſed vpon them by Queene *Elizabeth*, to vphold theſe friends and neighbours withall, is likewiſe well enough knowne; as alſo that great aboundance of *English* bloud hath beene shed in their quarrell, and an infinit number of Englishmens liues loſt, vvhoſe courage and valour was worthy of more honour, then in their baſe and dishonourable ſeruice could be deſerued; and now when all comes to all, they are ſo farre from honeſt ciuilitie, that they will not acknowledge any friendship done them, and therefore can they not entertaine any thoughts of obligation or gratitude; nay, they dare plainely tell vs, that wee are behol-

beholding vnto them, vvhich is as much to say, that they expect gratitude at our hands.

Tawny-scarfe.

You long to breake your malice vpon Queene *Elizabeth*, and will goe farre about, and much out of the way to doe it, you should not otherwise shew your selfe a right *Romane Catholike*, or a right *Spanish Papist*.

For our ancient Leagues with the *Spaniard* which you mention, we confesse it; but you must consider, then both States were vassals to the *Pope*, and *England* was then accounted by that *Strumpet* the elder brother. Now *Spaine* hath got priority, and vve haue so much vvit as to know the iniury offered vs, and to acknowledge our heauenly progeny, renouncing that earthly bastardie; and therfore must looke for opposition from the Prince of this world, and all that take part with him. Besides, then *Spaine* was not so potent, and so not so formidable; the accesse of so many Kingdomes hath since possest him with a more imperious spirit, and made him terrible to his neighbours and confederates, rather then (as he had vvont to be) helpefull vnto them.

The quarrell betwixt *England* and *Spaine* you cast wholly vpon Queene *Elizabeth*; and by the vvay, blame her for suffering Artillerie and Munition to bee caried out of her Land to the *Moores of Granado*, and for ceizing vpon a great summe of money belonging to the King of *Spayne*, vvhich fell vpon her coast. Then you huddle vp that vvhich Sir *Francis Drake* did against the King of *Spaine* in the *Indies*, making the King of *Spaine* like another *Melchisedec*, or king of *peace and iustice*, to stand still all the vvhile in a maiden-like posture, and neuer lift vp his hand to defend himselfe and annoy *her*, till in 88. he

vvas

vvas constrained to send that inuincible *Armado*, vvith a hope and full purpose vvholly to subuert the State of the Kingdome, and possesse himselfe of all.

Now because you finde a sort of people, vvho thankfully and religiously keepe this deliuerance in memorie, and praise God for it, those you brand vvith the name of *Puritans*, and are wonderfully angry, that they will not giue the Catholike King and the *Romane* Catholikes his assistants, thankes for his courteous inuasion, and his royall, religious, and gracious purpose to rule ouer them as mildely, as ouer the *Netherlands*. For answere to all this, take a view of vvhat the Councell of *England* presented to her Maiestie, vvhilst shee stood in doubt whether or no shee should ayde the *vnited Prouinces* against the King of *Spaine*, where they alledge:

The great (a) *hatred conceiued against her by the King of* Spaine, for the altering of his Religion in England, which he not long before had planted therein: *Which appeared by the treatie of peace made at* Chasteau *in* Cambresis, *holden in anno 1559. Wherein hee Was very slacke and careleſſe for procuring the deliuerie of the* towne of (b) Calis vnto the English againe, the which was lost by meanes of his warres; *and on the other side, he caused the* French *to deliuer many townes ouer vnto the Duke of* Sauoy, *and left her in warre both against* France *and* Scotland *without any resistance.*

(a) The Councel of England say, the King of Spaine hated the Queen & shew their reasons for it: you say vpon your bare word, the Queene hated the King of Spaine, but you shew no reason for it.

(b) The losse of Calis, was a fruite of the Spanish match: this killed Queene Marie to behold, when she considered how contrary to the aduice of her best Councelors, shee would proceede with this marriage, though they had warned her of these euils aforehand, and told her that the Spaniards had no respect but to their lusts, which shee would not beleeue, till it was too late to remedie.

(c) *They shewed likewise the vnkinde* refusall by him made, *of passage thorow the* Netherland *Countries with* Munition,

(c) You charge her for furnishing

the Moores of Granado vnderhand with munition, which she is forced to buy (as we see) in Germany, for her owne vse.

nition, Armes, and Powder, *which shee as then had caused to be* prouided and bought by her Factor *Sir Thomas Gresham*, vnto whom it was denied.

She seekes to make leagues, and you say shee desires to breake them.

Further, that when her Maiestie by her Ambassadour, the Lord Viscount Montague, *desired the King of* Spaine *to reuiew and confirme the* ancient contracts *made betweene his father the Emperor* Charles *the fift, and her Predecessors*, hee vvould by no meanes be drawne to yeeld thereunto.

You complain of vs for the Spaniards and Spanish Ambassadors, but will not heare nor see this iniurie offered by them to vs and ours.

That he had suffered the Inquisitors in Spaine, *to prosecute her* poore subiects *with all cruelty and extremitie, and commanded her* Ambassador *out of* Spaine, *because of his* Religion.

You say, the detaining of the Kings money was the cause of this: but could he haue prooued it his, it had not beene detained.

That his Gouernour, the Duke of Alua, *in the* Netherlands *had vsed all manner of* hostilitie and violence against her subiects, *arresting both their bodies and goods*, contrary to the ancient contracts betweene *England* and the *Netherlands*.

Cettaine Merchants of Genoa layed claime to the money.

All this is nothing in the eyes of the Romane Catholikes, who were themselues parties in the busines, and therefore we will beare with your wilfull blindnesse: it concernes your credits to ouersee and deny all this.

That he had sent an Army into her Maiesties Kingdom of *Ireland, and with colours flying inuaded the sayd Kingdome, vpon a* supposed gift thereof, made vnto him by the Pope of Rome, *which he thereby excused, intending also to* enterprise the like against the Realme of England, *as it manifestly appeared by the Iesuit* Sanders letters *to that end dispersed abroad, and by the Iesuit* Chreyghton, *who was then a prisoner: and many other such like practises also were discouered by the dealings of his Ambassador* Dom Bernardino de Mendoza *in England*.

Besides

Beſides theſe many forepaſſed iniuries, the Councell laid before her Maieſtie the danger that shee was to expect, if the *Spaniard* once obtained *merum imperium*, that is, full and abſolute authoritie in the Prouinces of the *Netherlands*; how hee would alter their Religion, breake their auncient Priuiledges, and ſubiect them wholly to his will and pleaſure: vvhich done, out of his malicious heart and intent, hee would eaſily inuade *England*, vvith the ayde of the multitude of shipping and Saylers of thoſe Countries, together vvith his *Indian* treaſure: Firſt, * *depriuing* England *of all trade of merchandize with the* Netherlands, *and within the Land procuring domeſticall diſſention*: and that therefore shee was not then to let ſlip the preſent occaſion, nor yet to *attend vntill the* Netherlands *were fully planted with* Spaniards *and* Italians; for that the vvarre was not vndertaken againſt the *Netherlands*, but with a *further intent and meaning to make a greater conqueſt.*

* Beware and looke about you, all true-hearted Englishmen, when you ſee theſe practiſes reuiued: for they are to the whole Kingdome as Beacons fired, to rouze you vp to watching and prayer, and all other meanes to preuent theſe miſchiefes.

Concerning that which you ſay of the good vſe our Ambaſſadors haue receiued in *Spaine*, and the iniuries the *Spaniſh* Ambaſſadors haue receiued in *England*: I anſwere, firſt you ſee the *Engliſh* Ambaſſadour was commanded out of *Spayne* for his Religion ſake; vvhilſt all the *Spaniſh* Ambaſſadors haue had free exerciſe of their ſuperſtitions in *England*, and liberty to corrupt others; ſo as none are barred from hearing of their Maſſes, but all things done as publikely as in *Spaine*. Beſides, we neuer had an Ambaſſadour that plotted treaſon in *Spaine*, but the King of *Spayne* hath had ſuch in *England*: as namely, *Dom Bernardin of Mendoza*, who thereupon was chaſed out of the Land like a ſpie, and tooke not leaue like an Ambaſſador. The Chronicles of *Spaine* cannot

accuſe any of our Ambaſſadors to haue medled farther, then in the protection of Merchants, or diſcharge of duties and commands proper to their places: but how farre the Ambaſſadours of *Spaine* haue intruded themſelues in the affaires of *England*, for the aduancement of the *Romish Religion*, and diſpoſing Offices for that purpoſe, is ſo notorious to the people, as it is no maruell, if they haue ſuffered ſome indignities; nay, it is a wonder they haue runne no farther hazard. I make no queſtion had the like actions beene vndertaken in *Spaine* againſt the *Romish Religion*, by an English Ambaſſadour, the very Clergie of *Spaine* would haue ſtoned him out, and the people would ſcarce haue ſuffered him to paſſe vnpunished, perhaps though the King himſelfe would haue beene his protector.

The benefits of our commerce, eſpecially by this expected *alliance* you ſpeake of, the ſucceſſe will manifeſt; and we haue great cauſe to hope it may be good, at leaſt better then it is, in regard wiſer heads haue the handling of it, then either yours or mine: and yet I muſt tell you, we begin with no good *omen* hitherto, ſince by way of preuention, our Clothes, Stuffes, and English commodities of Wooll are excluded, vvhereby the gaines wee get by the *alliance*, vvill ſoone be drawne home againe; Princes delighting to out-reach one another in theſe reſpects of State. Had wee once beene as wiſe to keepe our *sheepe* from thence; or were we now as warie to banish their *Silkes*, *Velvets*, *Tobacco*, and other needleſſe commodities from hence, then wee might hap indeed to gaine by the Trading, otherwiſe we may put the gaine in our eyes. But the Cuſtomes would ſo bee leſſened; nay rather let the Commonwealth ſinke.

For

For the *Netherlands* ingratitude, I cannot accuſe them, neither vvill I excuſe them: I know many old and worthy Commanders, who haue loſt their bloud and bones in their quarrell, complaine of neglect, contempt, and forgetfulneſſe of former good turnes; and perhaps there is too much cauſe of their complaint: but for my particular, as I fight for them, ſo I haue my meanes from them, and should be taxed of ingratitude my ſelfe, if I should taxe them of vvhat I know not, or feele not. Souldiers haue neuer the happineſſe to bee well rewarded, or vvorthily regarded as they ought in any place; the reaſon perhaps is, becauſe their employment is burthenſome euen to thoſe that employ them: and therefore though neceſſitie procure their entertainment, yet that compulſion, together with the perſon, is alike vngratefull. Looke into *Greece* and *Rome*, and all great States, how they haue vſed their owne, and then you vvill not ſo much vvonder, that the idle, vnexperienced, and moſt inconſiderate ſort of people in theſe Countries, vſe ſtrangers no better. Men are apt to bury many benefits vnder the ruines of one iniurie: and the Weſt-winde from our Coaſt, blowes not ſo fauourable a gale vpon this as it had wont; neither doe the Starres from our Firmament, caſt vpon them ſo happy an aſpect and fruitfull influence, as heretofore: they therefore cannot diſſemble the alteration, but shew it alſo in the alteration of their lookes towards vs.

Another reaſon vvhy we receiue no better vſe, may be the buying and ſelling of *Places*; of which, vvhen the *States* haue taken notice, as of Offices valuable at high rates, they haue inquired into the ſecret vvayes of that gaine, and haue abridged it vvhat they could. Whereas,

if preferment might haue proceeded the right way in any reasonable manner, according to the law of Armes and Armies, that is, *freely* to the next successor as *heire* to his predecessor, or to the *best deserver*, as purchaser by personall *worth* and *valour*, then neither should the Souldier complaine of his Officer, or the Officer of the *State*: whereas now the price is euer in the eye of the Commander, that he may gather vp his money speedily by exaction, vvhich he hath disbursed, lest it proue too deare a bargaine; and it is also in the eye of the *State*, causing them to imagine the Commanders profit to be farre more then it is, for vvhich he venters so much money, and his life to boot, as if hee intended to buy danger.

Another reason may be, that the *State* takes the Officer and the Souldier to be incorporated into their Body; now vvhen naturally (of all people in the world) they loue frugalitie, (euen so farre, as often it turnes into a vice in many) they beholding the contrarie prodigalitie of our people, especially in apparel and diet, aboue their rankes and abilities, doe dis-affect them as vnnaturall ouergrowne members to that spare Body; not considering, that brauery is tolerable in Souldiers, if it be so in any profession. I doe not meane that courtly and effeminate braverie of perfuming and powdring; (as they vse to doe, who would keepe corrupt flesh from taynting) a Souldier neuer smels sweeter, and lookes better, no not in the eye of a Lady, then when he is perfumed vvith sweat, and powdred with dust, and painted or besmeared with bloud: nor yet doe I meane that beastly brauery, wherein the golden-spangled Asse struts, and thinkes himselfe better then the man that rules him and

rides

rides him; but that brauery in *action* (whilſt euen the outward shew is not affected nor neglected) which made * Sir *Francis Vere*, and Sir *Thomas Baskeruile* (to mention no more) ſo notable in the eye of the Prince of *Parma* and his Army; when maintaining a breach furiouſly aſſaulted, the one was knowne by the skarlet Caſſocke dyed deeper yet in his owne and enemies bloud, and the other by his white Scarfe and Fether, worne as markes for his enuious and emulous enemies to shoote at in vaine, beeing aboue their reach. Now this brauery (which is truely their owne) may aſwell bee performed in Buffe and Broad-cloath, as in all the anticke imbroderies, and apish inuentions of our idle Age: and this brauerie is not contemned, but procures them honour and reſpect, vshers them into the company of beſt Princes and Peeres, makes their waies eaſie in the greateſt preſſe and crowd; attracts all eyes to gaze vpon them, though clad in ruſt and copwebs; yea the more torne, and rent, and tattered, ſcarified and mutilated euen to deformity, the more faire, and glorious, and admirable they shine both in the eyes of this Nation, and all others, if they be honorable, though they be enemies.

* This is recorded for their glory, and others imitation, by the renowned Souldier Sir Roger Williams, who was one of those that brought this kinde of brauerie into fashion.

Beſides, that brauerie in clothes, as it is euer borrowed of beaſts, birds, fishes, and wormes, ſo it is often borrowed, or taken vp in truſt of poore men; and this muſt needes mooue hate and enuie, when the Souldier paſſeth by with the Merchants wealth on his backe, and he in the meane time, his wife & children muſt fare hard, goe thrid-bare, and at laſt breake for lacke of payment, except by complaint he get redreſſe; which nips the prodigall debtor alſo, and cauſeth him to fret, rage, and repine, as if the iniury were done him, becauſe hee is not

ſuffered

ſuffered to doe what iniurie hee would, and by his idle exceſſe to vndoe the induſtrious Merchant and Artizan, of which this Common-wealth principally conſiſteth. Now this his profuſe prodigalitie makes others (though ſober) thought the worſe of, and ſo to receiue the harder meaſure and cenſure at all hands, as if it were not a perſonall and ſpeciall fault, but a generall diſpoſition of the Nation, vvhich is a great miſtake in this matter.

Laſtly, the cenſorious *Cato's* of that Commonwealth, ſeeing not onely themſelues by truſt, but alſo their youth ſpoiled by the example and conuerſation of theſe ouer-reaching Gallants; and that now their ſonnes and daughters begin to reuell away their eſtates; to ſhackle and manacle, to bridle and ſaddle themſelues in ſilkes and veluets, in gold and ſiluer, and to waxe wearie of that ancient and commendable frugality, which maintaines their liberty, muſt needes hate thoſe that they behold to be the cauſe of this vanitie, vvhich threatneth and introduceth ſlauerie: eſpecially when they ſee it proceedes from the imitation of the *French*, *English*, and *Scottish* Nations, who were firſt called in by their vertue and valour, to be the bulwards and walles of their Commonwealth; but now pull downe with the left hand, what they built with the right, laying open by their Lucifrian pride, a breach wide enough for the wrath of God, and politique power of ambitious man, to enter in front for their deſtruction,

Theſe or ſome of theſe may be the cauſes, vvhy the modeſter and better ſort (whereof there are many) receiue no better vſe, being mixt with bad deſeruers; and vvhy (perhaps) they ſeeme to bee hated, or at leaſt diſreſpected, euen of thoſe for whom they fight, and vvho ought

ought to proſecute them vvith all honorable attributes, reuerent reſpects, and ample rewards.

But howſoeuer, if we compare their vſe of vs, vvith the vſe you haue and doe finde vnder the King of *Spaine*, they will appeare moſt gratefull and reſpectfull people. How baſely doe all the *English* vvaite vpon the *Spanish Dons*, as if all Nations vvere bound to fight for the *Spaniard* by a duty of nature? You are promiſed mountaines at the firſt entertainment, but are payed with a bit and a knocke as Apes deſerue. We haue leſſe promiſed, but that is ſurely payed, though ſometime ſomething ſlowly. When the King of *Spaine* is runne farre in debt to any troupes, the Generals know how (like good husbands for their Maſters profit) to put ſuch troupes vpon ſome deſperate ſeruice, where few may come off: nay, they vſe to force them on vpon ſuch vnaſſaultable and impregnable vvorkes, as appeared in the ſiege of *Bergen*. So the great *Turke* vſeth to take townes, by filling vp ditches vvith his owne men. And this is generally obſerued as a difference betwixt our Generals and yours; your Generals care not how many men they loſe to ſaue money; our Generall cares not what mony he ſpends in making vvorkes for the ſauing of his ſouldiers liues vpon approches. The difference of our accommodation is ſuch, as we neuer vvant victuall, and you almoſt euer want it: ſo that euery ſouldier with vs, is, or may be (if his owne idlenes or ryot be not in the fault) better prouided, then the Commanders with you. This appeared before *Bergen*, where 1500. of your ſide came running to vs, driuen by meere neceſſity, for lacke of meat or pay; of vvhich number, though moſt were *English*, yet there were many of all Nations; as *Walloons*, *Dutch*, *Italians*, and *Spaniards*.

Yea I my ſelfe ſaw at *Rees*, a ſeruant of the Earle of *Gondomare*, the late *Spanish* Ambaſſadour, running away in his Liuerie, to the English Beefe and Breweſſe: and if ſuch as he, ſo commended, fared ſo hardly, vvhat ſhall vve thinke of other friendleſſe people?

And if the *Netherlanders* ſhould ſay (as you report) that vve tooke their parts partly for our owne ſakes, they ſhould ſay nothing but truth, and it concernes vs ſo to doe; yet this diminisheth not the cauſe of their gratitude; for as in tennis the ball muſt be toſt to and fro; ſo amongſt friends, benefits and gratitudes muſt be interchanged, or elſe amitie ceaſeth, or perhaps dieth or turneth to enmitie. It concernes vs both equally therefore to keepe this ball vp, if we intend to continue gameſters long; for aſſuredly vvere theſe Countries reduced to ſuch termes as the *Spaniard* deſires, vve could not be ſafe, but might certainly expect a preſent inuaſion; and ſo might they expect ſuddenly to be ſwallowed vp, if ours were enemie. This the vviſedome of their *State* ſawe, vvhen they ſought protection rather from the Queene of *England*, as beeing more *fit*, then from the King of *France*, as being more *potent*. And this the wiſedome of our *State* then confeſſed alſo, vvhen they ioyned vvith them for the aptnes and oportunity, each *State* had to helpe or annoy one the other, aſwell in commerce and trade, as alſo in warres offenſiue and defenſiue: and I vvonder thorow vvhat new Spectacles your vviſdome, (the vviſedome of the preſent times) ſees the contrarie to the vviſedome of the auncient, vvhich our experience hath proued & approued proſperous to both *States*.

Red-ſcarfe.

You ſay *England* might feare an inuaſion from *Spaine*; but

but what reaſon was there, why wee ſhould haue any feare of ſuch an inuaſion, but only for our taking their parts againſt their true and lawfull Soueraigne the King of *Spaine*?

Tawny-ſcarfe.

Great reaſon; for *England* ſtood onely full in the way to hinder his imaginary and intended Greatneſſe: and this appeares in the Letters of *Don Iohn*, and *Eſcouedo* his Secretarie, to the King of *Spain*, diſcourſing of that point; which were happily intercepted in their paſſage thorow *Gaſcoigney*, to diſcouer that plot and practiſe, and to warne both the Queene and the *States*, and theſe times alſo, if they will bee warned, to beware of that Snaphance. Whereupon the Queene ſent an Ambaſſadour to the King of *Spaine* to juſtifie her proceeding, to accuſe *Don Iohn*, to deſire his remoouall from that Gouernement, and withall, ſhut vp that meſſage with this concluſion, That if the King ſhould not bee induced to like of her proceedings, (wherwith ſhee plainely made him acquainted) her Majeſty ſhould thereby diſcouer, that his intention was, by force of armes to alter and diſſolue the ancient forme of Gouernement in the *Netherlands*, and by taking away their ancient Lawes and Liberties, to make it a Land of Conqueſt, and to people it with Garriſons of men of warre; and that the end and ſcope of his deſeignes ſhould tend to that which was diſcouered by *Eſcouedo's* Letter, wherein he writeth, that *the enterpriſe of England is of more facilitie, then that of the Iſlands*: whereby her Majeſtie ſhould finde the diſpoſition of ſo bad a neighbour to her and her royall eſtate. And then her Majeſties reſolution would be, to imploy all the power ſhee was able to make, for the defence of her

neighbors, and preſeruation of her owne eſtate.

Red-ſcarfe.

But I muſt tell you further concerning the *Hollanders*, that they doe not only deny all gratitude where it is due, and vniuſtly claime it vvhere they owe it; but paſſing further beyond the limits of reaſon and humanity, they diſcouer themſelues to be ſuch monſters, as to beare a very deuillish hatred both vnto our Nation, and to our moſt gracious Soueraigne himſelf: Againſt our Nation, their actions declare it; againſt our Soueraigne, their villanous tongues. Of their moſt vile and contemptible vſage of our Nation in the *Eaſt Indies*, I shall not here need to ſpeake, the Letters written by our Merchants and others from thence, doe declare it; their vſage of vs in *Groonland*, and the vndoing of our long-continued Trade in *Moſcouie*, I will alſo omit; but we find that they are the very caterpillars and deſtroyers of our Commonwealth, by all the vvayes and meanes they can deuiſe; for they haue not onely by meanes of their correſpondent countrimen, conueyed and drawne by ſtealth our Gold and Siluer out of the Realme, but they haue brought the whole Realme in a generall decay of traffique, to the impouerishing and vndoing of thouſands of the inhabitants, as all that deale in Clothing in all parts of the Realme will confeſſe.

As for their villanous ſpeeches againſt our Soueraign, I could name vnto you that Englishman, vvho paſſing not long ſince betweene *Rotterdam* and the *Hagbe*, and hearing ſome of thoſe varlets ſpeake ill of his Maieſtie, vvhich he (being an Englishman) could not endure but as became him, did in good manner reprehend them for it; vvhen ſtraightwayes a couple of them drew their kniues

kniues vpon him to haue ſtabbed him; and ſo had they done, had they not bin held and kept backe by others there preſent. We haue a Prouerbe, that *it is better for ſome to ſteale a horſe, then ſome to looke on.* What detriments indure vve by *Spaniards*? vvhere doe they binde vs hand and foot, and caſt vs ouer *Indian* rockes like dogs? where vndo they our Trade? how impouerish they our Countrie? vvhere rayle they vpon our Soueraigne? are wee in our right vvits I wonder? vvhen vve reſolue to goe to shed our bloud for thoſe that ſucke our bloud? when vve fight for thoſe at home, that kill vs abroad? mee thinkes purging with *Helleborus* vvere fitter nowadayes to be taken in vſe of our Countrimen, then the ſmoake-drinke of driueling *Tobacco*.

Tawny-ſcarfe.

The iniuries and abuſes offered to our Nation in *Moſcouy*, *Groonland*, and the eaſt-*Indies*, vvere not the acts of the *State*, but of ſome wicked perſons, who wearie of their owne welfare, would as gladly haue the King of *Spayne* their Maſter againe as you, or any other *Spanish* Pentioner could wish. I know that the baſer and ignobler ſort of theſe, being mungrell *Spaniards* in affection, and perhaps in bloud, vvhere they get the vpper hand, are as mercileſſe as *Moores* or *Spaniards*, and like them (being ouercome) are as humble, ſeruile, and dejected.

But vvhat meane you to mention this? vvhen all the iniuries they haue done vs, though they be great, incredible, intolerable, vnworthy that they ſhould inflict them, or vve ſuffer them, yet they are nothing to that vvhich the Kings *children* haue ſuffered by a *Spanish* Armie. Here priuate Merchants, or a Societie, or Companie receiued iniurie by them, There the Kings *chil-*

dren, Religion, the Reformed Church, ſuffered ſhip-wracke, by the inſulting, cruell, and bloudy *Spaniard*; and many thouſands of Chriſtians were martyred after a barbarous and butcherly manner; yea vpon all aduantages, euen vnder tearmes of Treatie and Peace. And this vvhilſt *Spaine* had league vvith our State, yea whilſt the Townes vvere vnder our Kings protection; vvhilſt the Army vvas payed by our King, and the Generals hands bound for attempting againſt them, yea almoſt from defending himſelfe; and vvhilſt an Ambaſſadour lay vpon purpoſe to make their entrance more eaſie, and to grant what their ambitious humours could deſire, in hope vvith kinde vſage to glut their vnſatiable gorges, and to force them reciprocally to returne ſome ſolide and reall (beſides complementall and verball) courteſies: yea vvhilſt they vvere kiſſing the one checke of our King, they vvere ſmiting the other; kiſſing the Prince, as if they meant to deifie him, and giue him all theirs; ſmiting his royall, louing, and onely Siſter, and by force taking away all that vvas Hers.

For that vvhich you ſay concerning the *Netherland* caterpillers drawing away our Gold, and deſtroying our Trafficke, I acknowledge it to be partly true; yet I doubt the *Remish locuſts*, thoſe *Babylonish Merchants* ſpoken of *Reuel. 9.* and *18.* are more in fault in thoſe reſpects, then the *Netherlandish* caterpillers. If vve conſider the penſions, the vnder-hand gatherings, the maintenance giuen towards Schooles and Seminaries in all Popish Countries, euen out of *England*; the building of Nunneries, Monaſteries, and other irreligious Houſes; the *hee* and *shee* Votaries, that of late dayes (eſpecially ſince the Proclamation commanded the contrarie) haue carried

out

out their plentifull portions thither, you will eaſily iudge, that the caterpiller hath not cropt our blooming fruit of *Heſperides*, ſo much as the *locuſt*; and ſo by conſequence, ſpirituall merchandizing in Idolatrie, hath more hindred our Trade, then the vnder-hand pettie thefts (in compariſon of the other) committed by a few pedling and pilfering Merchants. And all men know, decay of Trade neceſſarily and naturally followes the decay of Coyne: ſo the ſpirituall traffique of *Rome* hath more decayed our Trade in all Countries, then the temporall trading of *Amſterdam*. For I haue credibly heard related from the mouth of a worthy witneſſe, that at one time there hath beene payed 200000. pounds in *English* gold into one of thoſe ſpirituall Bankes, for and toward the building and repairing of certaine Monaſteries, and payment of portions, and other allowances for ſuch of the *English*, as haue entred into religious Orders; for they will take none empty-handed; and vvhat they take is with a *mort-main*, whereas the Merchant yet trades, and returnes ſomething againe that hath ſauour. I produce this one payment, not as if it were all, but that by this one notable tranſportation of *English* treaſure, we may gueſſe at many others vnknowne. Beſides, with what diſaduantage our Merchants trade *by reaſon of Religion*, and how this alſo deads their dealings, making them obnoxious to the couetous *Spaniards*, and ſo a prey to their pleaſures, all the world knowes.

I am glad to heare you ſo angry with thoſe varlets that betwixt *Rotterdam* and the *Haghe* ſpake ill of his Maieſtie: The caſe is either alterd with you ſince father *Parſons* died, or elſe perhaps you thinke it becomes none to rayle but men of your Religion; you forget the

bookes

bookes printed at *Louaine*, and thoſe published in *Flanders*, *Brabant*, and *Spaine*, for repreſſing of which, Ambaſſadours haue beene ſent from *England*, and penſions giuen to ſome for baſtinadoing the Authors, vvhen no other ſatisfaction could be gotten of the *State*. You forget alſo thoſe infinit ſongs, libels, and obſcene diſcourſes made againſt his Maieſtie heretofore; for writing, or venting, and diſperſing whereof, ſuch as you haue gotten *Romish* penſions. All theſe are forgotten, or by you paſt by, though their ſweet remembrance remaines ſtill with many, as the ſnuffe of a candle new put out.

As for the Bores you ſpeake of, they are as wide mouthed as you; their throats open ſepulchres, their tongues ſtretcht out vpon the largeſt Laſt, and in the midſt of their cups and Tobacco, will forget the honour of God and man, caring no more to raile at a Prince being out of his reach, then you do to blaſpheme God himſelfe, when a Prieſt ſtands at your elbow ready to abſolue you; nor to draw their kniues vpon you beeing inraged with drinke, then you vpon Kings, made drunke before vvith the cup of the *Whores abomination*. But this muſt not be made a fault of a whole Nation, no more then your perſonall follies ſhall be imputed to all *Romane Catholiques*; nor muſt wee for a drunken Skippers tongue, leaue the protection of our more modeſt friends and neighbours, vvith whom theſe are mixed, as baſe earth amongſt gold-Ore; ſuch a reſolution were madneſſe, and vvould require a purge of *Hellebore* indeed, as you learnedly aduiſe; though your aduice, if it were vviſely followed, would be to the great hinderance of the *Spanish* Trade, that we in *England* ſhould giue ouer Tobacco,

bacco, being a principall Commoditie wee fetch from thence, to the vndoing of our ſelues, and the inriching of him and his State, vvhich I am ſure is agreeable to your Catholike wish.

Laſtly, where you demand *what detriment we endure by the Spaniard*, and *where they binde vs hand and foote, and caſt vs ouer Indian rockes like dogs, &c.* I am forced for anſwere to touch vpon two or three ſtrange and ſtupendious ſtories, amongſt infinite others left behinde as ill or worſe, thereby to giue your blinde and wilfull partialitie ſome ſatisfaction.

I paſſe by all that incredible crueltie which the *Spaniards* haue and do exerciſe towards the *Indians*; the Lyon, the Wolfe, Dogge, Vulture, Kite, or if there bee any other bird or beaſt more rauenous and rapacious, are not ſo cruell to their owne kinde nor to others, (perhappes as not knowing the vvayes to doe it) as theſe men, (if vve may call them ſo) who ſeeme to haue reaſon to no other end, but to exceed theſe bruits and beaſts, in all ſauage, brutish, or (beyond that) deuillish cruelties. Eyes, eares, noſe, lippes, hands, feet, body, ſoule, nothing is ſpared, but all ſpoyled for their pleaſure: as if it were not this or that man, but mankinde, that they intended to deſtroy; and vvith curſed *Cain*, would haue the poſſeſſion of the whole earth alone; and with *Iſmael*, *hauing their hands againſt euery man*, would ſtirre *euery mans hand againſt them* in their owne needfull defences. Neither vvill I once mention vvhat they doe by Sea or Land to the *Netherlandish* people, vvho commonly pay them againe in their owne coyne, hauing learnt of them to deface Gods images, and to ſtampe the deuils there in

History of the Weſt-Indies.

bloud and reuenge, especially in the East-*Indies*. Neither yet will I mention what the *French* haue felt in *Florida*, where *Pedro de Melendes* hung vp all the *Frenchmen* vnder the command of *Laudouice*, with this inscription ouer their heads, *I doe not this as vnto Frenchmen, but to Lutherans and Heretiques.* A watch-word and a mirrour to ours abroad in *Virginia* and the *Bermuda's*, as also to vs at home, to teach vs to beware, and behold what courtesie we are to expect from them where they are masters; and how they can hang vp some for being *Heretiques*, others for being of *this or that Nation*, and others for being *men*, and so spare none, but in fine hang vp *all for their profit*. But they will not deale thus by the *English*; no doubtlesse, they loue their heart blouds too well; looke vpon these examples that follow for your learning, and then tell me what you thinke: for these are knowne for truths to euery Sayler in *Radcliffe*.

History of Florida.

About twelue or fourteene yeeres since, there was a ship sent from *London* called the *Vlysses*, to *Trinidado* to trade for Tobacco; which our Merchants had wont to doe, in the time that *Berea* gouerned there: but at this time the gouernement was changed, *Berea* beeing sent vnto *Mexico*, and those parts gouerned by the King of *Spaines* Officers. The Merchants and Owners of this ship thinking they might trade peaceably as they were wont shot off a piece of Ordinance according to the custome, to signifie their arriuall, and desire to trade as they vsed to doe; vpon which the *Spaniards* came to the shores side, shewing out their white Flagges in token of peace: and our Merchants so assured, after the manner of all Nations that beleeue a God, or loue men like them-

themſelues, came ashore; where preſently the *Spaniards* ceized vpon all that landed, to the number of 27. perſons, and kept them, as they pretended, for hoſtages, but would neuer deliuer them, till they had for their ranſome drawne the ship ſo dry of Amunition, clothes, victuals, and all other neceſſaries, as shee could ſpare no more, hauing left her ſelfe ſcarce enough to bring her home: vvhich when the *Spaniards* perceiued, and ſawe withall, that they could not by falshood poſſeſſe the ship; they tooke the 27. priſoners; and in ſtead of ſetting them free, and ſending them home as they promiſed and conditioned, bound each of them to a ſeuerall tree, and in the ſight of the Sunne, and in the eye of their lamenting friends on shipboord, vvho could not helpe them, cut their throates, and left them there and went their vvayes: ſo that when their companions came on shore, they beheld the vvofull ſpectacle, but could doe no farther courteſie to them, then couer their bodies vvith earth, burying them with a peale of cryes and imprecations ſent to heauen, for iuſt vengeance to bee powred vpon that perfidious place and people.

About two yeeres after, a ship of *South hampton* came thither, the Merchant of which named *Chamberlaine*, had beene there the yere before, and there was owing to him an hundred pounds of Tobacco: hee, making no queſtion but all had beene well, leaped ashore to trade with the *Spaniards*, and was preſently taken, and his throat cut in the ſight of them that were in the Boate, vvho hardly ſcaped.

In that Apologie written by Sir *Walter Raleigh* a little before his death, he shewed, how the *Spaniards* in *Ame-*

rica did tye the *English* (out of a ship wherein M. *Hall* of *London* and himſelfe were partners) backe to backe, and cut their throats after they had traded with them a whole moneth, and trayned them ashore in truſt of their fidelities, vvithout ſo much as a ſword or any other weapon amongſt them all to defend themſelues. And if (ſaith he) the *Spaniard* to our complaint made anſwere, that there was nothing in the Treatie againſt our Trading in the *Indies*, but that we might trade *at our perills*, I truſt to God (ſaith he) the word *perill* ſhall euer be conſtrued indifferently to both Nations, *otherwiſe wee muſt for euer abandon the Indies, and cloſe all our knowledge and pilotage in that part of the world*. Thus hee: And how vnreaſonable this is, euen ſuch as looke into the Map of *America*, may judge at firſt ſight. *America* is more then the fourth part of the knowne world, the hundreth part whereof is neither poſſeſt nor knowne by the *Spaniard*, who wants men to people what hee hath graſped already. Why then ſhould not our King employ his numerous Nations that way, for the ſtrengthening and enriching of his owne State; enlarging the bounds of Chriſtendome, and ſpreading of the Goſpel with freedome? eſpecially conſidering, as the *Spaniard* lackes men for his land, ſo the King lackes land for his men, vvho therfore are forced to people *Poland*, *Sweden*, *Denmarke*, *Germanie*, *France*, and to range in thoſe and other parts, as if they had no natiue habitation: for in all theſe places there are ſwarmes of our people, vvho are meerely loſt and ſcattered out of his Majeſties Dominions, to the ſtrengthening of other parts, and weakning our owne State. Surely God intended not the *Indies* to be ingroſt by the

Spaniſh

Spanish Nation alone, who cannot people the least part of it; but rather for all Nations that can plant it, and withall plant and spread the *Gospel of saluation through Iesus Christ our Lord*, which belongs to all Nations as well as to the *Spanish*; though they, to blinde the eyes of ignorant and superstitious Christians, haue styled themselues the onely *Catholike Christians*. Thus much by the way, though I hope I be not out of the way in saying so much: for this engrossing of the earth is a note of their cruelty. I now with your patience, will returne to the matter in hand more directly. *I hope* (saith the same Sir *Walter Raleigh* a little after) *the Ambassadour doth not esteeme vs for so wretched and miserable a people, as to offer our throats to their swords without any manner of resistance*. The law of the Land, nor any powerfull Proclamation, did euer intend to binde our hands and feete, and deliuer vs like calues to *Spanish* butcheries, & neuer-before heard-of cruelties; amongst which, take this one for conclusion, because it is a prettie one taken out of the Schoole where all kinde of extracted tyrannie is taught, and performed in imitation of the *Spanish Inquisition*, which you and so many *Romish Catholiques* so much like and allow of, and desire to haue transported into these parts, for the profit of the *Netherlands*, and perhaps of *England* also. The storie is this; a short one, and a sweet one, if honie could make it so: One M. *Burch* a Factor, beeing in the west *Indies* to trade peaceably, was taken by the *Spaniards*, stript starke naked, bound to a tree, anoynted all ouer with wilde honie, in a fennie place subiect to *Musketoes*, and so suffered either to perish by famine, or stung to death by that new-inuented torture of Flies. Was not

this a moſt exact peece of cruelitie, vvhich none but the great-witted *Spaniards*, who daily trade in bloud vp to the eares, could poſſible haue found out? Theſe were their crafts maſters in the art of Murther; *Phalaris* himſelfe might here haue beene bound prentiſe. To conclude this poynt, it is preſent death for any Nation but the *Spanish*, to bee found vpon that Weſterne Continent, though they commit no other fault; nay, though they bee driuen by ſtormes vpon that Coaſt; but they leaue the manner of the death to the arbitrarie ſentence of that perſon, vvho gouernes the place vvhere ſuch are taken; becauſe they know them to bee very mercifull men, and ſuch as ſtudie the eaſieſt vvay of vndoing that great Worke of humanitie vvhich God hath made, and of breaking that knot of ciuill Commerce and Societie, vvhich man vvith man hath found out by Gods direction to *Noah*.

And now I hope you will take heede how you aske any more ſuch childish Queſtions as this, leſt you giue mee occaſion to lay more of your *Spanish* courteſies open to the eare and eye of euery hearer and beholder, much againſt your gorge. Howſoeuer, all that you can ſay is not auaileable to draw vs from this people to a vvoorſe, as you vvould; or to mooue vs to leaue that ſeruice vvherein vvee haue beene trayned vp in all militarie perfection. This change might ſhew our leuitie, vvhen Souldiers ſhould doe actions that onely ſauour of ſettled ſoliditie, a vertue proper for the beſt men.

Red ſcarfe.

Red-ſcarfe.

Nay Sir, you ſhould by leauing the ſeruice of that vngratefull Nation, giue a good example to the reſt of the *English* to follow.

Tawny-ſcarfe.

I haue ſerued ſome yeeres alreadie in *Holland*, and intend to returne thither againe with more heart then euer before; in regard I haue heard the worſt you can ſay, and that worſt is little or nothing to the purpoſe, to alter any mans reſolution, that is not before a Traytour or Turne-coate, but rather may ſerue to confirme them in the iuſtice of thoſe Warres.

Red-ſcarfe.

I could then wish, if you bee obſtinately bent, to returne and ſerue them, that both you and the reſt of your *English* friends would reſolue to ſerue them as they ought to bee ſerued; ſuch trickes I meane, as might reuenge ſome of the villanies and wrongs they haue offered vs.

Tawny ſcarfe.

I gueſſe at your meaning; for now you diſcouer your ſelfe, and appeare in your right colours: but ſuch courſes become not the Religion of Chriſtians, but Anti-chriſtians,

christians; such as were *Stakenbroek*, *Berweets*, *Merchant*, *Stanly*, *Yorke*, *Patton*, and *Symple*, vvith many others, vvho may haue Dispensations for their Oathes, and *Vmbrilloes* for their humours, as *Philip* the second had for his Oath taken to maintaine the *Netherland* Liberties; vvee that know there is a *God who will not bee mocked*, know, that Honour cannot bee vvithout Honestie. Therefore in answere to this poynt, I may vse the vvordes of the olde Prince of *Orange* in his Apologie, vvhere hee sayth:

If the Spaniards esteeme such traytours for Gentlemen, and that men by such meanes bee aduanced to honour in Castile, it is no maruell if all the vvorld beleeued, that the most parts of the Spaniards (especially those that held themselues Nobles and Gentlemen) descended from the Moores and Iewes, and obserue that good qualitie, as ingrafted in them from their Fore-fathers, that betrayed our Lord and Sauiour Iesus Christ, and gaue Iudas money to deliuer him vnto them, that they might crucifie him.

The

The true honorable bloud of the *English* know better, except it be tainted by *Romish* corruptions, then to dishonour themselues, Countrie, and Nation, by such perfidious and treasonable Actes: yea if the *States* should deserue as ill (as *Standly*, *Yorke*, and the rest pretended for their owne excuses) yet wee know, that there is a precept that willeth vs, *to doe good for euill.*

Red-scarfe.

That is well done where euill is thereby amended, but your doing good where you doe, makes evill become worse. But let me now returne to speake somwhat of Queene *Elizabeths* reasons to take the *Hollanders* partes. And first I must tell you, that Queene *Elizabeth* did neuer take their partes vpon compassion of their cause, in regard of any wrong which she knew the King of *Spaine* did them; for she could not but know them to be as very notorious rebels as euer were any in the world, and therefore was her assistance not giuen, because she loued them, but because she hated the King of *Spaine*, and so made vse of them as the instrumentes of her hate.

Tawny-scarfe.

All this is answered before, yet you must repeate old matter, where you want new. Wee must heere take your word, and beleeue you by an implicite faith, without reason or proofe, before the manifest reasons of *Religion* and *State*, and before the honorable and publique protestations of that *worthie* among women, Queene *Elizabeth*, who never brake her word. She tooke their part, partly for compassion; she neither knew them Rebels, nor counted them so; but if she hated the King of *Spaine*, then must there be cause why she hated him; and hating him, she had reason to fauour and foster those that hated him aswell as her selfe, or rather that were hated by him as she herselfe was.

Redſ-carſe.

I pray, Sir, for the inſtruction of my ignorance, tell me the cauſe why she hated him.

Tawny-ſcarſe.

You should tell the cauſe, ſince you produce the effect, and it were enough for me to ſay there was no cauſe, *ergo*, there could not be ſuch an effect; yet becauſe this will not anſwere men of your humor, I ſay farther, that I doe not thinke she hated his perſon, but rather proſecuted it with all honorable offices of loue; yet I may imagine (and wee ſee it euident) that she feared his *encroaching power*; and whom wee feare in any kinde, wee are ſaid to hate in ſome ſort.

Red-ſcarſe.

You know no iuſt cauſe nor any man els, why she should hate him; but you ſay, you muſt imagine there was a cauſe; but this *muſt* is not forceable, vnleſſe it were a cleere caſe, that neuer any man were cauſeleſly hated. But to tell you the true cauſe why indeed she hated him, it was no other then for doing her good.

Tawny-ſcarſe.

That me thinkes is impoſſible.

Red-ſcarſe.

Impoſſible only to good & gratefull minds. The King of *Spaine* in her ſiſters Queene *Maries* time, did her no leſſe good then the ſauing of her life; and experience hath often shewed, that there are ſome kinde of people, that can neuer abide thoſe that they are very deepely beholding vnto; becauſe they thinke the obligation of gratitude to be a bondage; whereas want of gratitude, when it conſiſteth in the will, and not in the power, is monſtrous and not humane.

Tawny-ſcarſe.

In

In laying ingratitude to that bleſſed Queenes charge, you ſhew your malice, you vomit your poiſon, and ſay all that a diuelish aduerſarie can invent againſt an innocent Lady. Neuer could any of her owne obliged men, neuer could any priuate perſon accuſe her of this crime; much leſſe would she giue iuſt cauſe to ſuch a potent King, ſuch an able State, apt to take exceptions, ſo attended by viperous-tongued raylers of an other Religion, to publish her ingratitude in this kinde to the world. Beſides, that *the King of Spaine ſaued her life*, can neuer be proued, albeit she was impriſoned in her Siſters time, yet she was neuer brought to any publique tryall, and ſo there was no ſauing of her life needfull, she not being by law found guilty.

Red-ſcarfe.

If it had come to that it had gone hard with her, but the King of *Spaine* preuented it, and thereby not only ſaued her life, but alſo her honor.

Tawny-ſcarfe.

But how is this proued?

Red-ſcarfe.

That there were diuers conſpiracies of treaſon in her ſiſters time is euident, that she was apprehended, and put in priſon vpon them is euident; that she was the only hope and obiect of the conſpirators is euident, and that ſome of them accuſed her, is alſo euident: for Religion her troubles were not, becauſe she made profeſſion of the Religion of her ſiſter, and daily heard Maſſe: ſome cauſe there muſt be of her apprehenſion, which muſt alſo be ſome great cauſe: for no * *ſmall cauſe* can vrge the calling in queſtion & apprehenſion of the ſiſter of a Queene Regnant, and her next and apparent heire: but I will leaue the beleefe of this to your owne leiſure and pleaſure, when you ſhall haue better thought vpon it, or better

* I returne your owne interrogation: was neuer any apprehended and impriſoned without cauſe?

to be the Queenes sister & next heire to the crowne, is cause enough to worke iealousie and suspicion amongst Princes, who will take an easy occasion to imprison their Expectant.

ter enformed your selfe about the matter.

Tawny Scarfe.

Now you come to supposition, collection, and presumption, where you want proofe, and so colour or couer the hatred of your *Popish Clergie* and their cursed cruelties against Queene *Elizabeth*, with a supposed crime in the cloudes. But this is sufficient to cleere her innocency, that neither those who then sought the ruine of her body, nor you who now seeke the ruine of her fame and honor, could or can produce any thing against her, but imaginarie concealements; for if they could, she had not liued to be the obiect of your envie, & if you could, the whole world had bin filled long before this, with your long-tongued Libels, and bellowing Buls against her.

Therefore I shall not neede to thinke vpon this point long, as if what you sayd were vnanswerable: Queene *Elizabeth* herselfe hath saued me a labour, wherein answere to an infamous libell written against her in *Italian*, which chargeth her with vnthankfulnes to the King of *Spaine*, who (as the authour reporteth, being a man of your minde) in her sisters Queene *Maries* time, had saued her life, she saith, *That her faith and fidelity was neuer in any such question in her sisters time, and much lesse that euer any sentence of death was pronounced against her, and that therefore he had no cause why to seeke to saue her life: Confessing and ingeniously acknowledging neuertheless, that she was as then somewhat beholden vnto him, and that in all princely and honorable manner she had been thankfull vnto him for the same.*

Now therefore if you haue any more to say in this matter, produce it; if not, let vs come to the third reason of greatest importance mouing Queene *Elizabeth* to take the *Hollanders* part, which was, the *cause of Religion:*

they

they profeſſing with vs one ſame *Goſpel.*

Red-ſcarfe.

I doubt whether they profeſſe with vs one ſame Epiſtle, but one ſame Goſpell I am ſure they profeſſe not.

Tawny-ſcarfe.

You are wonderfully witty and merry in diſtinguishing betwixt the *Epiſtle* and *Goſpel*, when I am afraide you ſcarce vnderſtand what you ſay: Perhaps you take nothing for *Goſpel*, but what is conteined in thoſe partes or portions of *Scripture* which are appointed to be read in the *Maſſe*, (though in a ſtrange tongue vnknowne to the vulgar) for the better vnderſtanding of the ſolemnitie of certaine Feaſtes celebrated to the Memory of Saintes, or perhaps, though you be not ſo neere of kinne to one of Saint *Paules* Ideots, yet you may thinke nothing *Goſpel*, but what is expreſly conteined in the writings of the *foure Euangeliſts:* ſo that whileſt *Saint Paule*, and *Saint Peter*, *Saint Iames*, *Saint Iude*, and *Saint Iohn* write Epiſtles conteyning the doctrine of the Goſpel or glad-tidings of Chriſt crucified, this ſhall not be *Goſpel* but *Epiſtle*: nor they Preachers and writers of the *Goſpel*, but *Epiſtlers* with you, and your grave vnderſtanding: So whilſt *S. Paule* ſaith, Ro. 2. 16. *In the day when God ſhall iudge the ſecrets of men by Ieſus Chriſt according to my Goſpel*, you will alter and correct the Apoſtles phraſe, and for *according to my Goſpel*, put in by your *Index expurgatorius*, *according to my Epiſtle*: leaue your wittie conceites if you loue your owne credit, they doe very vilely, and come off againſt the haire, according to that prouerbe, *inuita Minerva.* 1. Cor. 15. 16.

And here I waxe wearie with following your wandring Diſcourſe, (as he that playes with a childe all day, and is tyed to treade in his ſteps) wherefore I intend for that

which remaines, not altogether to take it vp, as you lay it downe, and giue occasion of answere, nor yet to insert *verbatim* what I then sayd when we discourſed in the *Tilt-boate*, (though then I made no such idle and ayrie answers, as you forge for me, but forced you to greater straights then you wil acknowledge) but I purpose directly to gather the strengh of your Arguments, and lay them downe truly, with such answers as I did, or might make to such of them, as seeme worthy of any reply.

You first pretend, our Gospel, and that Gospel which is preached and professed in the *Netherlands* differ, because there is difference betweene Protestants and Puritans in *England*; for so you are pleased to style such true Christians as protest against your falshoods, and would reforme your impurities in life and doctrine, *Protestants* and *Puritans*. How well this hangs together, the premisses and conclusion, you cannot but see, and smile to behold, being a man so merily disposed by nature as you seeme. But you demand, how contention should otherwise arise amongst vs? why else should some bee silenced or banished? Doe the difference betwixt Iesuites and secular Priests in *England* proue their Gospels differ? Doubtlesse their *Portuces* are the very same: why doe the *Thomists* and *Scotists* differ? Is their Gospel diuerse? why doe the *Dominicans* and *Franciscans* pursue each other with deadly quarrels, is it because their Gospel differs? Doubtlesse many of these know not the Gospel; most of them care not for it; nay, let me say boldly, few of them prize it, as they doe that which they call their *vnwritten veri-ties*, or *traditionall Gospel*, whereabout yet they fall out with eagernesse. And had not the Councell of *Trent* cunningly trust vp all their trinkets, and taught them what they must hold, none could haue known what it had beene

to be

to be a Papist: But Antichrist then vnsealed the secrets of his Mysterie; for then it was a time for him to discouer himselfe, that such as tooke *his marke on their foreheads, or in their hands*, might be knowne for counterfeit Christians. Apoc. 13. 16. 17.

You demand, if our differences be small, why then are some silenced, some banished, some put to death? Iniurie may be done somtime vnder the colour of iustice; and *Mephibosheth* may be forced euen by *David* himselfe, to diuide his lawfull inheritance with *Ziba* the tel-tale, the traducer, the traytour. Sometime also many iust occasions may prouoke such seuere punishments to be inflicted vpon persons for circumstantiall poynts, though they differ not in fundamentall verities contayned in the Gospel. But tell me in good earnest, why were the Iesuites banished *France*, and a pillar set vp to eternize the memorie of their banishment, was it for that their Gospel differed from the *French* Church? Or why were the Iesuites banished out of *Venice*? or why are the Cardinals iealous to make a Iesuite Pope? Is it for that their Gospel differs from the rest, whilst they hold all one Epistle? I trow not. 2 Sam. 16. 3. 2. Sam. 19. 24.

You pursue this discourse (I suppose) to the same end to proue the difference of our Gospel from the *Hollanders*; for that is the proposition. And such as you tearme Puritans in *England*, you call * *Gomarists* in *Holland*, because that learned and vigilant Minister *Gomarus* opposed such as would haue brought in the innouations of that subtill D. *Arminius*, and prepared the *tenets* of such as imped out and inlarged his doctrine, fit for the Synods inspection, censure, and decision. Now such as these you will haue by no meanes defended; for then we defend (as you would say) another Gospel. But you see euen the Doctors and Bishops who were sent out of *England*, ioyned

* We might with as much, or more reason call the Papists, hellat ministers, Parsonists, Garnetists, &c. as you call vs Lutherans, Caluinists, Gomarists, or the like. 2. Cor. 3. 5.

ned with *Gomarus* and the reſt in that memorable Synod of *Dort:* ſo that by that vnitie, they declared a conſent in doctrine, howſoeuer they might differ in ſome poynts of leſſe conſequence about ceremonies; ſo they had all one Goſpell. All agree, that the *Biſhop of Rome* is Antichriſt, and that we ſhould ſeparate from him; the difference is, how farre we ſhould doe it; ſome deſiring it farther then others iudge fit: yet thoſe that iudge it not fit to ſeparate ſo farre as others deſire, doe it not in any other reſpect, then becauſe they would winne the Papiſts to reformation, by letting them ſee, how they depart from them in nothing, but where they are forced to doe it, by the cleare euidence of Scripture, being willing otherwiſe in things indifferent to deſcend to their weakneſſe, & rather to giue their brethren offence, with whom they joyne in all fundamentall Verities, then theſe of *Rome* who haue *ſtrong* 2. Theſ. 2. 11. *deluſions to cauſe them to beleeue lies*, and therefore muſt be won by all ſtrong and gentle inducements to beleeue the truth. You ſee alſo in that Synod, how the *Gomariſts* (as you call them) can endure the ſocietie of Biſhops, though not the ſuperioritie; & judge not the gouernement of Biſhops ſimply vnlawfull, but neither fit for them, nor to be *Iure diuino*. For as they condemne not, but commend Monarchies, though they doe not finde that Gouernment the beſt for their diſpoſitions, nor to be impoſed vpon all Nations *iure diuino*; ſo they cenſure not, at leaſt condemne not, Epiſcopall Gouernment, but preferre a brotherly communion, where ſuperioritie is rather giuen then exacted; rather ſhunned, then ſought; Rom. 12. 10. *And all in giuing honour, goe one before another*: where with you they take, beg, and buy honour, and plot and poyſon for place and preferment, that they may goe one before another.

* Al gouernment from God, this or that forme from man.

2. In

2. In the ſecond place you labour to proue, that ſuch as defend the cauſe of the *Netherlanders*, defend al the Religions, Sects or Schiſmes there tolerated. But this is drawne out by a conſtrayned conſequence; and by the ſame conſequence, he that fights for the Pope of *Rome* fights for the *Iewes* there maintayned, nay worſe, for the maintenance of the male and female ſtewes, and ſo by your conſequence, for the defence of Sodomitrie, practiſed in *Rome* and all *Italy*. So he that fights for the *Emperour* or *Venetian*, fights for the *Iewes*, vnder whom they find toleration: So by conſequence, he that fights againſt the Catholike King, fights againſt *Antichriſt*, whom the Catholike King defends and ſupports, and he that ioynes with the Catholike King ioynes with *Antichriſt*, by your artificiall wire-drawne Argument of euill conſequence.

You produce by the way, a ſect of the *Perfectiſts* there (as you ſay) profeſt. Perhaps there may be ſome ſuch madmen; for *Bedlam* containes not all the crackt-braynd creatures in *England*: you, and many ſuch as you are out: ſo though there be Dull-houſes in the *Netherlands*, all that deſerue to be put there, are not. Yet why should you finde fault? This Sect doth ſuprabound with you; euery Order pretends a perfection by it ſelfe, onely proper to them and their Founder. Here onely is the difference betwixt your mad-men and theſe; Theſe place perfection in knowledge, yours in practiſe, whilſt both erre. Theſe whilſt they know ſomething, being ignorant of themſelues, ſuppoſe they know all things, the firſt chapter of a foole. Yours, whilſt they faſt from flesh, pray they know not to whom, and whip themſelues they know not why, ſuppoſe by theſe parts of wil-worship vnrequired, to deſerue heauen for themſelues and others too: for from hence is the treaſurie of the Church, that poore mans

Boxe of *Merit* and *Supererrogation*, wherewithall *Peters* ſuppoſed ſucceſſor is truſted, filled full drop after drop, and emptied againe by *Pardons* and *Indulgences* more then a good many. Thus yours alſo not knowing themſelues, their owne baſeneſſe, vileneſſe and vnworthineſſe, ſeeke perfection in themſelues, and through ſpirituall pride ſhip-wracke their owne ſoules, and the ſoules of ſuch as depend vpon their rotten principles. Amongſt the *Ethnikes* there were diuers Sects of Philoſophers, which were their wiſe men, & ſuppoſed themſelues more perfect then the reſt. The *Academickes*, ſuch are your Ieſuites: the *Stoickes*, ſuch are your preaching Friars: the *Peripatetickes*, ſuch are your begging Friars: the *Epicures*, ſuch are your Popes, Cardinals, Biſhops, and rich Abbots. You haue *Cynicks* too amongſt you, who raile at all they vnderſtand not; *Septickes* onely are forbidden, an implicite faith is ſufficient by which ye beleeue the perfection of *Romish dogmatizing*. Therefore ſpeake not you of theſe *Perfectiſts*, they are of your owne breed, we diſclaime them. They erre in ſcience, whilſt they profeſſe it; you in practiſe, whilſt you laugh at their fooleries, and commit worſe your ſelues.

A third Argument you bring to proue our Goſpel and theirs differ, and that wee ſeeke to defend a wrong Goſpell, ſeeking to defend theirs. The reaſon, for their Goſpel allowes of theft.

If it be ſo; we diſclaime their Goſpel and the cauſe alſo; marke the ſolide proofe therefore.

The *Netherlands* ſteale whole Prouinces from the King of *Spaine*, whilſt they hang theeues for trifles, and that by their Goſpels warrant, for ſo it muſt be, or you ſay nothing. Surely I thinke if they had you, they would ſcarce hang you, they are ſo mercifull: many that deſerue it perhaps as well as you haue done, doe yet ſcape, and enioy

ioy their libertie in hope of amendment, as you doe, if you haue grace to make good vſe of it.

But if they be theeues and ſteale Prouinces from *Spaine*; How hath *Spaine* gotten ſuperioritie ouer his neighbour-Nations? how hath he made many intruſions vpon *Savoy*, *Nauarre*, *France*, *Italy*? How vpon the Eaſt and Weſt *Indies*? How vpon *Ireland*, and how vpon *England* alſo, whoſe purſe he would haue taken, whilſt you and yours were ſetters and plotters for the purchaſe? Is he a thiefe for this? Is this Catholike doctrine? I feare you muſt paſſe vnder the rod of penance for this ouer-ſight. Remember what the Pirate ſaid to *Alexander* the Great: I am a Pirate and a thiefe robbing with one ſhip, and taking away a little; and becauſe thou robſt the whole world with a Nauie and an Armie, thou art ſtyled an Emperour. *Indian* gold is able to purchaſe many more able flatterers and ſupporters, then you are. And what power did euer want praiſe, though neuer ſo wicked, tyrannons, or vniuſt? He cannot but be defended and commended, who hath Antichriſt and the whole *Romane Conclaue* at his command.

That which remaines is matter of controuerſie in Religion, which you haue propounded at pleaſure, making me a very ſimple fellow fit to be coopled with you for company in the anſwers annexed by you: Yet that which you propound is ſuch ſtuffe, and ſo followed, as you need not proteſt your ſelfe to be no Diuine; you bewray it ſufficiently in your Diſcourſe, though otherwiſe I might haue doubted a Prieſt or Ieſuite (as they had wont) might haue lurked vnder a buffe Ierkin, a red ſcarfe and feather. And indeed though I acknowledge there are many learned men on your ſide, yet me thinkes ſuch kind of knowledge is a matter ſuperfluous, and leading towards here-

ſie, for ſince that infallible ſpirit of deciſion, direction, and expoſition is in your Popes breſt, what need other Doctors, then ſuch ſimple and illiterate perſons as Chriſt firſt choſe to be his Apoſtles, and to plant his Church, ſince there remaines in your Church ſtill extraordinarie and primarie power to diſpoſe of the ſpirit miraculouſly, and ſo to beſtow the gifts of tongues and miracles, as it was with Chriſt himſelfe, and his Apoſtles after? For which cauſe your Sea of *Rome* is called the Apoſtolique Sea, from whence all that ſupernaturall power is deriued, as from an ordinarie Miniſter or Vicar appointed by Chriſt to that end. But to leaue this ſtill in doubt, come to your Diuinitie: Two points you inſiſt vpon: The *Euchariſt*, & *auricular Confeſsion*: In ſpeaking of theſe, you labor to juſtifie your owne doctrine & practiſe, and diſproue ours.

You firſt labour to free your ſelfe from Idolatrie, and ſay, If Chriſts body be not truly in the Maſſe, that is, as you vnderſtand it, if the bread be not truly tranſubſtantiated into the bodie of Chriſt, then you doe not intend any worship to it, and ſo you commit no Idolatrie.

But as an oth (which is a ſpecial part of Gods worship) is not vnderſtood according to the ſecret intent of the ſwearer (for then your *equiuocation* and *mentall reſeruation* might be iuſtified, and there were no vſe of an oth at all, the oth being only to bewray and aſſure the certaine inward intent of him that makes it) but according to the plaine, open, and direct intent of him to whom the oth is made, and of all others that ſee the end wherefore it was made, and ſo can iudge of the truth or falſehood: So outward worship of the bread in the Sacrament, is not to be vnderſtood according to your inward intent, which hath *ifs* and *ands* in it, (*if* it be Chriſts body you worship it, *and if* it be not, then you do not intend to worship it)

Lingua iuro, mentem iuratam gero. Non enim quando iuras, tibi iuras, aut lapidi iuras, ſed proximo iuras, Aug: de verbis S. Iacobi. cap 5. Ser. 30.

it) but according to the vnderſtanding of all that behold you (the eye being the iudge of bodily worship) and they beholding you giue to the bread the ſame outward worship which they ſee you giue vnto God, iudge preſently and plainely, that you commit groſſe idolatry: for the ſame eye that beholdes your bodily and exterior worship, beholds withall, that the obiect of that bodily worship is bread which they ſee, and not the body of Chriſt which they ſee not, to which you ſay, your intent hath reference.

Againe, your worship which wee now ſpeake of being the exterior reuerence of the body, muſt be for the Ideots ſatisfaction aſwell as for the greateſt Clerkes: for it is S. *Paules* Argument againſt publique vſe of an *vnknowne tongue* in the Church, eſpecially in preaching, or prayer: *If when the the whole Church is come together in one, and all ſpeake ſtrange tongues, there come in they that are vnlearned, or they which beleeue not, will they not ſay that ye are out of your wits?* and a little after, *Let all things be done to edification.* Thus wee ſee the Apoſtle had a care euen in things *not ſimply vnlawfull*, to giue no ſcandall or offence to the vnlearned; nay, to giue ſuch ſatiſfaction, & to prouide, that nothing ſhould be done in the Church, but that which tended to edification, and to the opening of the mouthes of babes and ſucklings to confeſſe him; at leaſt to the ſtopping vp of their mouthes, that would not confeſſe and praiſe him. And wee ſee he hath a care to giue ſatisfaction to the vnlearned. How then dare you do an *act* which is *directly prohibited*, & which doth not only *ſcandalize the Iewes*, who hate the *apparance of Idotry*, but all *ſober Chriſtians*, who are not drunke with the *whores cup of fornications*, and bewitched with her inchantmentes & deuillish incantations, whilſt they ſee you 1. Cor. 14, 23. 1. Cor. 14, 26.

giue worship to that which they see and taste to be bread as euidently, as they see you kneele and worship? Must they not needes count this idolatry, and iudge you to be out *of your wits*, practising this publiquely, and defending this practise impudently and obstinately? This tends not to edification of the weake, but to the destruction of the strong, euen of the strongest *Sampson* or *Salomon* amongst you, though he be able otherwise to *carry away all the gates of his enemies*, and to *resolue all the riddles, doubtes, and anigmaticall controuersies* that haue beene, are, or may be propounded. *The eare* (saith *Elihu* in *Iob*) *tryeth wordes*; thats the Apostles argument, to proue the the necessarie vse of a knowne tongue in the congregation: *The Mouth tasteth meates*, (saith *Elihu* in the same place) thats my inference vpon the Apostles words; who would haue all things done soberly, that men might not judge vs *mad*; but when your knee tels me, that Cake is God, which the Baker tels me is breade; bread that he made, part whereof hee eate himselfe, part whereof he crammed his Capons and Chickings withall, and part whereof he employd in meaner vses; when my eye tels me it is so, and my taste and feeling tels me the same, shall not I thinke you *mad* or drunken Idolaters to beleeue the contrary, or to perswade me, or any other person wise or simple, to beleeue the contrary? This opinion and your *Latin Lyturgie* are well coopled together in communion, being direct euidences of *Antichristianisme*, and parts of that *Mysterie of Iniquity* which began to worke euen in the Apostles time, and was afterward by inches (as the *Masse* grew by time in greatnesse to a monstrous *Masse* of *superstitions* indeed) introduced vnder the dangerous colour of *good intent*, to obfuscate truth, & cause men to receiue & *beleeue lyes*. The bold attempts, and desperate on-

Iob. 34. 3.

Es. 44. 15. 16

Sap. 14. 28.

2. Thes. 2. 10. 11. 12.

sets,

ſets, together with the euill euents and dangerous ſucceſſe of *good intents* grounded vpon *ignorant zeale*, you may obſerue in your ſelfe; who, like an *Italian Montbanke* or *Romish Iuggler*, play faſt and looſe with your faith, euen in the point of worship, the ſupreme and ſouereigne ſeruice of Chriſtianity; *If the Cake be Chriſt, you worship it; if it be not Chriſt, you intend no worship to it.*

But thus may the Heathens argue for themſelues, That they intend no worship to their Idols, except they be gods, but by them they ſend vp their worship to the true God; for what they doe, they intend to the true God, or to none.

You build vpon Chriſts words who cannot deceiue, and is ſufficient to performe what he ſpeakes: and he hath ſaid, The bread is his bodie, and were it ſtill bread, (ſay you) yet he hauing ſaid, it was his bodie, and you beleeuing it to be ſo, he cannot condemne you of miſ-beliefe: for if he had neuer ſaid it, you had neuer beleeued it.

We acknowledge Chriſts truth and power: but here we looke to what he did and ſaid, and do not with you preſume to change his words or workes: He neither ſaid, the bread was tranſubſtantiated into his bodie, nor did he will his Apoſtles, or their ſucceſſors to worship it, but to take and eate it, and doe it in remembrance of him. Chriſt ſaid, *This is my bodie:* we ſay ſo too with him and with you: The difference is about the manner of his preſence: You ſay, the bread remaines not, though you ſee, feele, taſte bread: We ſay, Chriſts bodie is taken and eaten by the ſoule of the faithfull, whilſt his hand takes, & mouth eates the bread. So it is his body (as he intended) though bread remaines; bread really, his body Sacramentally and Spiritually, both truly. Chriſt as concerning his bodily Luk. 22. 19.

pre-

preſence is in heauen at the right hand of God the Father, ſo we are taught to beleeue; and from thence as concerning locall deceſſion, ſhall not come, till he comes in glorie to iudge the quicke and dead: this we ſee confirmed, Act. 3.21. *Whom the heauens muſt receiue, vntill the time of reſtitution of all things, which God hath ſpoken by the mouth of his holy Prophets, ſince the world began.* And *Ioh. 16.28. I leaue the world, and go vnto the Father.* Mat. 26.11 *Ye haue the poore alwayes with you,* that is, You ſhall not haue me alwayes preſent in bodie for I goe *ſo* vnto the Father, but in ſpirit and power alwayes; *for loe, I am with you,* ſo, *to the end of the world, Mat. 28. 20.* What can be more plaine and cleare? Then looke for a figuratiue vnderſtanding of theſe words, and for a ſpirituall eating of Chriſt, or elſe you denie your Creed, and contradict S. *Peter* and Chriſt himſelfe; *for the flesh profiteth nothing,* Ioh. 6.63. *It is the Spirit that quickeneth;* not the literall, but the ſpirituall vnderſtanding and eating nourisheth the Spirit. That which the bodie eates, cannot benefite the ſoule, that which the ſoule eates cannot nourish the bodie. The bodie eates bread; the ſoule, Chriſt; the one by the teeth, the other, by faith: both are thus nourished according to their ſeuerall natures and eſſences. If you will not grant a figure in theſe words, what ſay you to thoſe 1. Cor. 11. 25 that follow immediatly as part of this Sacrament? *Drinke ye all of this; for this is the new Teſtament in my blood, &c.* You muſt beleeue the Chalice is the new Teſtament in Chriſts blood; that is, tranſubſtantiated into the new Teſtament in Chriſts blood; not the wine only, but the Chalice alſo; or elſe admit a figure in the ſpeech. And if you grant a figure in this, why not in the former? the ſame Chriſt ſpake both, the ſame Chriſt is able alike, the ſame Chriſt wils me to doe both in remembrance of him, and

to beleeue both alike. Nay rather thus I may argue, since you must needes grant a figure in this, by consequence, a figure must be vnderstood necessarily & properly in the other, our Sauiour had else spoken improperly: words must agree with the workes. And this being a figuratiue or sacramentall action, must be deliuered in a figuratiue forme or phrase of speech, as being most proper and congruous to the occasion. Therefore though this errour of Transubstantiation began to be busie betimes in the Church, by reason of diuerse carnall eares who vnderstood Christ as *Nicodemus* did, *Io.3.5.6.* and as the Capernaits did, *Ioh. 6.51.52.63.* Yet it was held indifferent, and not prest vpon any to beleeue the manner of his presence till the Councell of *Lateran*, as Bishop *Tonstall*, though he were one of yours, confesseth; but then this errour was confirmed by *Antichrist* and his associates. Before,

De veritate corp. & sang. p. 46.

Christ was the Word and spake it,
He tooke the bread and brake it,
And as his Word doth make it,
So I receiue and take it,

Was enough to be professed and confessed to make a man a worthy receiuer, without farther disquisition into the secret closet of the conscience, to know if men had reason and sence or no, and then to make that a sufficient quarrell to exclude them: For now if we will not beleeue that which contradicts sence, reason, faith and Religion, from the table we must be cast and to the fire we must be haled as Heretickes. Now therefore this is the note:

Priests make Christs body and soule, ye need not doubt;
They eat, they drinke, they boxe him vp, and beare about.
One is too little, Bread and Wine
Holds him seuerall: so wee dine,
I with my Christ, thou with thine.

Is thy mouth the Virgins wombe, is bread her ſeed?
Are thy words the holy Ghoſt? Is this the Creed?
O preſumptuous vndertaker,
Neuer Cake could make his Baker:
Yet the Prieſt can make his Maker.
What becomes of al thoſe Chriſts that Prieſts haue made?
Doe theſe Hoaſts of Hoaſts abide? or do they fade?
One Chriſt liues, but all theſe die:
One Chriſt bides, when all theſe flie:
One is true, the reſt a lye.

You then from the matter, fall to the manner of celebrating; debating whether to doe it vpon a table as we doe, or on an altar with you, be the trueſt forme.

Chriſt inſtituted it, and celebrated it at a table; this you confeſſe; he is the ſafeſt patterne to follow. Before I heare you ſay; *Hee hauing ſaid, it was his bodie, and I beleeuing it ſo to be, his iuſtice and goodneſſe is ſuch, that he cannot condemne me of miſ-beliefe, himſelfe hauing beene the cauſe why I ſo beleeue; for if he had neuer ſaid it, I had neuer beleeued it.* So ſay I, and ſo ought you to ſay, he inſtituted it vpon a table, not vpon an altar; he gaue bread and wine, not bread alone; he gaue common bread, and broke it, not printed wafers to be ſwallowed whole; he willed me to eate, not to ſwallow whole and vnbroken; to take it, not to adore it; to doe it in remembrance of him, not as if he were preſent corporally: *Till he comes*, ſaith S. *Paul*, not as if he were come; and if he had neuer ſaid it, I had neuer beleeued it; if he had neuer commanded it, I had neuer done it. But now I beleeue, and obay, and will doe as he bids me, whatſoeuer an Angel, much more whatſoeuer a Shaueling can ſay to the contrarie.

1. Cor. 11. 23 Beſides, I ſee S. *Paule* and the *Corinthians* celebrating at a table, I neither heare of the bread tranſubſtantiated,

nor of the wine withdrawne from the people, nor of inuocation or adoration, but all done as we doe it, in remembrance of Christs death, by way of thankfull acknowledgement of the benefit wrought for mankind thereby. All the rest is of your owne inuention, superstitious, idolatrous, antichristian.

Looke the place and it will confirme you in all these plaine and euident truthes: for they tooke the Sacrament at their loue-feastes, so far then from superstitious adorations, as they were irreverend and almost prophane in not discerning betwixt that, being a religious action, a spirituall meate, and other ciuill actions and corporall meates: wherefore the Apostle reduceth them to the primitiue institution, far from mad Idolatry and drunken prophanenesse, in christian sobriety as becomes persons made worthy partakers of so great a Mystery.

That which you adde to auoide your Idolatry, as if the reuerence you doe to your Idoll in the Masse, were no more then what we in the presence shew to the Kings chaire of State, is ridiculous. Our reuerence is ciuill, yours is religious: all men, yea the simplest old wife can distinguish ours from a religious act of worship to God; it troubles your greatest Doctors to cleare your point in the Schooles by imaginarie distinctions; how then in actions they shall be distinguished, especially when they are to be performed by an old ignorant woman, it will trouble a man no lesse wise then your selfe to imagine, much more to manifest.

That which S. *Augustine* saith of *Images*, *being Laymens bookes*, is concerning their historicall vse; but we see they haue taught the people so many lies, that if *Augustine* were now aliue, he would barre them both from preaching and praying in the Church too. For if a *woman*

be forbidden to be a teacher there, I know not why a
Zach. 11. 15. 17. *dumbe Idoll* should be there admitted to teach. I presume, both the pretence and intent of the first introducers was good, to banish heathen Idols, to please the new conuerts with something sutable to their olde superstitions, but we see the euill successe of this, and of all other points of humane Policie, of worldly wisdom intermixt with the worship of God, either directly against, or simply without the authoritie of the word of God it self, how it brings cōfusion, & helps in the issue to pul down *Sion*, & build vp *Babel*.

The last point you handle is *auricular confession*; for which you bring a proofe from Scripture: The proofe is Christs generall commission giuen to the Apostles and their Successours, *Receiue the Holy Ghost, whose sinnes you*
Ioh. 20. 20. 21. *shall forgiue, they are forgiuen; and whose sinnes you shall retayne, they are retayned.* But here you leaue out what Christ spake to them before, namely, *As my Father sent me, so send I you.* Christ was sent to forgiue sinnes, not by hearing *auricular Confession*, but by preaching the Gospel of Repentance, from dead workes and faith in Gods promises made in him; and so sent he his Apostles, not to heare priuate confessions, but to publish the Gospel for remission of sinnes, and sauing poore repenting and beleeuing soules, who made publique confession of their sinnes, as the Apostles did publiquely preach repentance and confession.

You bring in also the example of *Iohn Baptist*, *Mat. 3. 6.* Where the people are said to come out to him to be baptized, confessing their sinnes; which makes nothing for your purpose, to proue *auricular Confession*, but shewes how glad you would be to finde shelter to couer your nakednesse in the garden of God, when your owne figge-leaues will not serue your turne.

The

The truth is, they that came to be baptized publikely, were publikely to acknowledge that guilt & sinne which they would haue washed away, and remitted by Baptisme: for before the receipt of cure, they were to know and acknowledge themselues sicke; but all this was publike and generall, not priuately aud particularly whispered into Saint *Iohns* care, as you vse and imagine. A Monke of your owne confesseth this; For then (saith he) was not the Sacrament of *auricular confession* instituted by Christ. Dionis. Carth. Mat. 3. 6.

We allow confession, and our Preachers doe often inforce it, what they may, vpon the bleeding conscience, vnable to stanch her owne wounds. But herein is the difference betwixt you and vs: 1. Yours is of necessitie, ours voluntarie. 2. Yours requires an exact numeration, ours saith with *David*, *Psal. 19. 12: Who vnderstandeth his faults?* Therefore we seeke to haue those confessed, which notwithstanding our former confessing to God, we finde still to leaue a sting behind. 3. Yours is full of superstition, as if the worke wrought, that is, the confession of the sinner, & absolution of the Confessor, were sufficient to assure saluation; when with vs there is no remission, but by the free grace of God alone. 4. Lastly, yours is horribly abused, to vnlocke the secrets of Princes, to rule ouer the consciences of men, (for I am master ouer that man, whose naturall inclination I vnderstand, and know how to rule him by his vices, which are constant aud importunate, better then by his vertues, which are no fauourites, and are also seldome at home.) Yea, this hath beene, and is too often vsed, to deflowre Virgins and Matrons, and to to perpetrate and faciliate other darke and blacke actions, for which cause it was banished *Constantinople* by *Nectarius* the Bishop there, and is worthy to be banished all Christian Common-wealths: for by this alone, hauing

either the Prince himselfe, or any of his neere seruants, or his wife, or any of theirs, vnder your imperious fingers, you know cunningly how to open the closest cabinet of secret counsell; and to make a superstitious and trembling soule your instrument to say, sweare, reueale, conceale, whatsoeuer you command, that may be for the aduantage of your Catholike cause. And so euery Priest is an absolute priuie Councellor.

But you haue taken an oath to conceale all secrets deliuered *sub sigillo confessionis*. Indeed this must needs secure all men; I had forgotten this. Yet now I remember me, you may be absolued and dispensed withall, if you should reueale any secret deliuered in confession: Besides, you haue taken an oath first, to conceale nothing that may be prejudiciall to the Romane Catholike Religion, but to reueale all that may aduance it, or any way concernes it. Now the first oath bindes, and assoiles the latter, which is but secundarie, and with subordinate respects.

And for matter of meere conscience, howsoeuer worldly wisedome would thinke, and you say, that *auricular Confession* serues to bridle sinne by shame, it is farre otherwise; my experience knowes, that it makes men and women impudent, so that they care not at last who knowes or sees their filthinesse. I haue seene the written confessions of some before they were sent to their Confessors, and that without the least touch of modestie, or sence of shame in the impudent penitents, when I haue blushed to reade those horrible crimes, which they gloried to iterate, both in confessing and committing interchangeably.

Thus our new-converted Gallants (who neuer had a God before, till now that they haue gotten him about their neckes, and in their Tobacco-boxes) can goe to a Play, and from thence to a baudie-house, and from thence

in

in a morning to *confession* and *Masse* : and thus make themselues new men, that is, of men, monsters euery day. And this is the onely reason, they so easily turne to be yours; because, though your confessing, and penance, and whipping, and haire-cloth shirts seeme strange things, and make a faire shew at first blush; yet they are nothing in comparison of leauing those sweet sinnes whereunto we haue beene accustomed; and betaking our selues to holy and reformed courses, without which our Preachers say, and shew plainely by Scripture, that there is no hope of saluation. And this is the reason our Libettines easily turne Papists; (though you cry out against vs, and call vs Libertines, because we professe the libertie of the Gospel, from your * Iewish ceremonies and superstitions) and this is the cause your honestest Professors, who are not intangled and kept backe by honours, or pleasures, or profit, or humane respects, are easily induced to be ours, without which they cannot be Christs and Gods.

* Our soone to the their best soone turne to vs. When you be at the best, you are neerest vs; and when we be at the worst, wee are neerest you.

The rest that remaines of yours, is such extrauagant stuffe, as shall need no other answere then silence and contempt, which I shall still vse both towards you, and all others that take your part in this subject, or shall audaciously reply on your behalfe. Assuring your selfe, that notwithstanding all you can say, many of the English who are yours in Religion, doe assist the States in their warres with body and goods, both in regard of the iustnesse of the cause which you impugne, and the necessitie they see of vpholding them, or falling our selues with them to Spanish subiection and slauerie, which they are not such traitors to permit; howsoeuer you, and such as you wish it. And for our owne, I meane, such as are reformed Catholikes indeed, they laugh at all that you say, as knowing the truth much better, then to be mis-led by iuggling. And there-

therefore you see how easily they are drawne to goe ouer with me to serue the *States General*, when you haue lien long in *London*, and spent much money, & promised large meanes, (much more then you meane euer to performe) yet goe ouer weakely prouided; and such as you carrie, you haue gotten by fayning your selfe to be for vs, & now hold by force, or they would now leaue you, and come to vs. But the best is, you put the King of *Spaine* to booteles cost to carrie them ouer for vs at his charge: for within this three moneths we shall haue all that are left aliue, come to vs, for bread, or meanes, or their Passes. And for such as are with vs alreadie, all that you haue, or can say, doth but rather cause them to binde themselues more close together, for the cunning and industrie they see vsed on all sides to diuide and seuer them.

And this (I doubt not) will moue the wisdome of the *States General*, and his *Excellencie*, seeing our people at home so well affected to their Cause and Countrey, and the Commanders and Souldiers so sure and trustie to them, (as persons interested in the same quarrell) to vse them not as meere mercenarie and salarie Souldiers, but nobly, freely, and bountifully as Natiues; who though they take pay, as their owne, for meere necessitie, (*for who goeth to warfarre at his owne charge?*) yet fight freely, not with respect to the money, but loue of the Cause and Countrey: for which they deserue to haue vsage as Natiues, to be payed with aduantage, to haue their meanes aduanced without exaction, or grieuance. And this I wish for conclusion, and would aduise if they wanted it, or I were wise enough to aduise, that the Lords would carefully foresee, that neither they, nor the Coronels preferre young men vpon letters and commends, to places of command; for so they may aduance enemies, & permit (through couetousnesse) *Indian* gold in the hand of a *Spanish* Ambassador, Agent, or Pentioner; *Hee* or *Shee* to stickle in the Camp, as it doth often in the Courts of Princes; but haue an eye to old Souldiers of merit, seruice and experience, and freely preferre them, and then (God being their helpe, and still keeping them in concord) they need feare nothing, nor care what you and your associates can say, nor what your Master and all his ministers can doe against them: *Si Deus nobiscum, quis contra nos? To this Emanuel, this God with vs, be all honour and glorie by vs ascribed, now and euer, Amen.*

2. Cor. 9. 7.

FINIS.

C 22090
51962

REPRODUCED FROM THE COPY IN THE

HENRY E. HUNTINGTON LIBRARY

FOR REFERENCE ONLY. NOT FOR REPRODUCTION